

## Eastern strikers seek wider labor support

BY SUSAN LaMONT

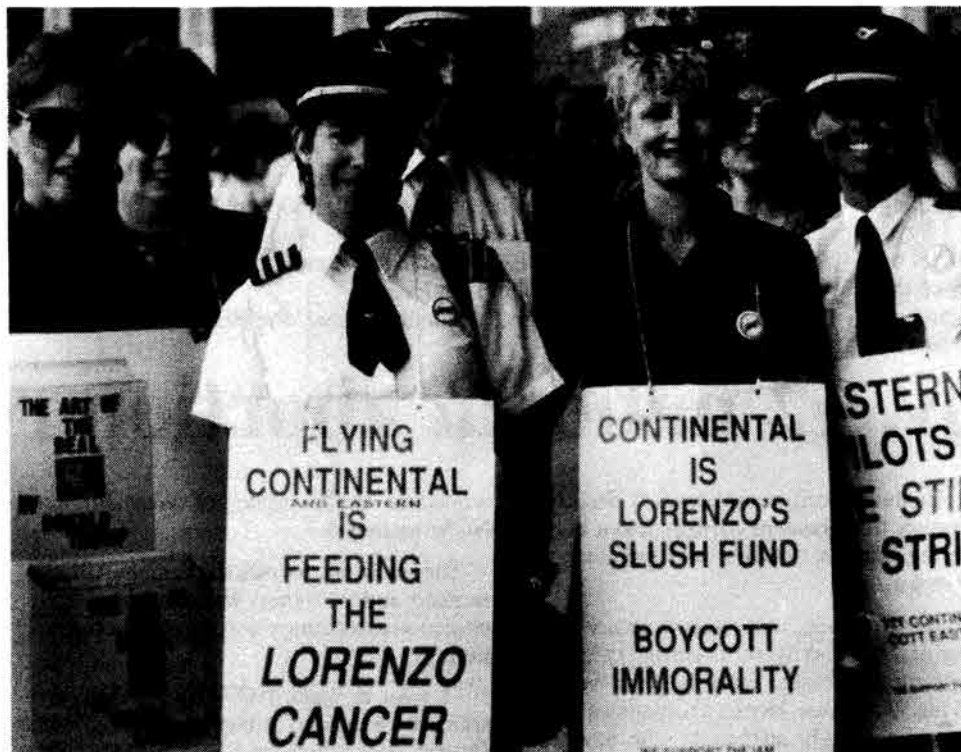
Faced with a new stage in Eastern Airlines' plan to restart operations, striking Machinists union members, flight attendants, and pilots are looking for ways to broaden labor support in an effort to maintain the impact of their strike.

Responding to Eastern's start-up of additional flights August 1, strikers in some cities have won backing from other unions and central labor bodies for rallies and expanded pickets. Efforts to beef up daily picket lines at some airports are also being made, now that flights are beginning to and from many cities for the first time since the strike started March 4.

The resumption of flights — with enough passengers on them to make money — is central to Eastern's plan to break the strike and resume flying as a smaller, nonunion carrier. Until July 2 the airline's operations had been virtually grounded by the walkout.

On that day the number of Eastern's daily flights went from 80 to 226. The company's original projection was to increase the number of flights to 390 on August 1. This has now been reduced to 350, with an August 15 target date for 390. The company's goal is 800 daily flights by the year's end. Before the strike began, the airline had 1,040 flights each day.

To answer the July 2 start-up of flights, strikers around the country organized rallies, expanded pickets, and other activities. In doing so, they gained new publicity and support for the strike, including from many people who weren't aware the walkout was still on.



"Women's day" on picket line July 15 at Newark International Airport in New Jersey. Striking unions are reaching out to workers across country in fight against Eastern's union-busting effort.

Another round of actions is projected for on or around August 1.

In New York strikers won backing of the Central Labor Council for a July 28 strike support demonstration, to be held at Continental Airlines ticket office in midtown Man-

hattan. The CLC sent out a letter to all affiliated unions urging their participation. Strikers are also organizing a day of expanded picketing August 1 at La Guardia Airport.

In Newark a regional rally is planned for August 4 at the Sheraton Hotel near the  
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## Abortion rights march set for Nov. 12

BY VALERIE LIBBY

CINCINNATI — The convention of the National Organization for Women has set November 12 as the date for a march on Washington to defend abortion rights and counter the Supreme Court ruling upholding extensive restrictions on abortion.

Defending women's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion was the focus of discussion for the 1,000 people who attended the July 21-23 gathering here.

"The Supreme Court did not say the words 'Overturn *Roe v. Wade*,'" NOW President Molly Yard told a July 21 news conference. "Was that because of the 600,000 people who marched in Washington, D.C., on April 9?"

### 10,000 sign to put socialists on New York ballot

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign have so far collected more than 10,000 signatures to place the names of SWP candidates on the November ballot. The candidates are: James Harris for mayor; Jerry Freiwirth for city council president; and Vivian Sahner for city comptroller.

Campaign Chairperson Mike Shur says the remaining week of petitioning will be important for putting the total number of signatures collected as high as possible over the 7,500 required by law.

Thus far campaign supporters have sold more than 350 copies of the campaign platform, *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

She continued, "But they have begun to dismantle *Roe v. Wade*. They'll hear three cases in the fall to continue the process of making abortion inaccessible to all but the very wealthy."

"Our opponents want women's rights to become a state's rights issue," Yard said, "but we aren't buying into that. We know this is a federal issue, a constitutional issue, and we will keep the pressure on the Supreme Court, the Congress, and the president."

"Necessarily we will have a national strategy," she stated. "We will introduce federal legislation in the fall and discuss here a November 12 national mobilization in Washington, D.C."

The November 12 march was the central action proposed in a resolution entitled, "Freedom Campaign for Women's Lives." The resolution also called for activities on a statewide level. It called for a fight to permit RU-486, the abortion pill, to be sold in the United States.

The proposed national action was debated at the Reproductive Rights Issues Hearing, one of the workshops. NOW New York City President Françoise Jacobsohn proposed that, instead of the November 12 event, NOW call for statewide actions on Jan. 22, 1990, to be followed by a national march in April.

Jacobsohn said she was "not arguing against a national march. But the November elections require our full attention and this march would be the weekend after the elections."

A woman from the Charlottesville, Virginia, chapter argued that supporting the November 12 march did not exclude organizing activities in states.

"Our phones have been ringing off the hook," said a delegate from Philadelphia. "People want to act now. If we could have called a national action a week after the July

3 decision, we would have had a million people in Washington, D.C. These new people are willing to do the work."

The overwhelming majority of people at the hearing voted to back the resolution calling for the November 12 march, and it was adopted the next day by the convention.

In her keynote address to the convention, Yard called on NOW members to "change part of the argument for abortion rights."

### 'Population explosion'

"There is a direct connection between the environment and population control," she declared. "I want us to begin to argue that the morality of the question of abortion rights is directly tied up with the life of this planet."

"The population bomb is accelerating rapidly," Yard warned, "and could destroy our way of life."

"Most of the explosion is in the developing countries, with the exception of China, which has fertility control," she told the convention. The Chinese government attempts to limit families to one child, imposing fines and other penalties on those who have more.

"Why is Brazil destroying its rain forests?" the NOW president asked. She continued, "Because the population is growing and chopping down trees for more land."

"No problem is greater to the planet earth than population growth," she concluded. "We need to cut growth in half. This means a two-child family worldwide." Adopting this line of argument, she said, would enable supporters of abortion rights to win allies among those involved in environmental issues.

At the Combating Racism Issues Hearing, many women voiced opposition to Yard's views. One Puerto Rican woman expressed anger that NOW would voice the same argu-

**Continued on Page 2**

## Huge crowd celebrates 10 years of Nicaraguan revolution

BY JUDY WHITE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans, along with several thousand international visitors, participated in activities here marking the 10th anniversary of the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by this country's workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The festivities, which included rallies throughout the country celebrating the fall of each site to the revolutionary forces, also included the awarding of medals to thousands of participants in the 1980 literacy drive and other early campaigns of the revolution. Titles to land and houses were given out to their occupants, and there were several ribbon cuttings at new industrial and public works projects.

### Rallies throughout country

The nine members of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), along with Nicaraguan Vice-president Sergio Ramírez, traveled the length and breadth of the country presiding over the rallies in the weeks prior to July 19, the date of the final triumph of the revolutionary forces.

In addition, the 10th anniversary celebration included events where international visitors participated — a symposium of intellectual and political figures on democracy and revolution, a bookfair, a conference of solidarity committees, and a solidarity fair.

The centerpiece of the anniversary celebration was the July 19 rally held in Managua.

Although the FSLN has not yet officially announced its candidates for the country's

**Continued on Page 13**

## Cuban leadership on stakes in Ochoa case



Militant

Cuban President Fidel Castro. Report on his speech on Ochoa case, plus editorial from Cuban newspaper *Granma* appear on pages 8-11.



# Pamphlet describes roots of Palestinian uprising

**Palestine and the Arabs' Fight for Liberation.** By Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad. Pathfinder, New York. 62 pp., \$2.50.

BY HARRY RING

Now in its 20th month, the strength of the Palestinian uprising has impressed friend and foe alike.

The significance of the West Bank-Gaza uprising, the *intifada*, looms even larger when it is considered in the

## IN REVIEW

context of the decades-long fight of the Palestinian people for their freedom.

In turn, the import of the Palestinian liberation struggle becomes more comprehensible when it's examined in relationship to the movement of the entire Arab world for an end to imperialist domination.

In capsule form, this timely pamphlet provides the necessary historical background for such an assessment.

As part of that background, it includes a useful overview of the history of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which has provided political leadership to the Palestinian people.

In the setting of the Arab struggle, Feldman sketches a broad picture of the Palestinian fight for independence and self-determination, from World War I until the beginning of the *intifada* in December 1987.

The pamphlet also features an important article by Georges Sayad. It describes how Israel's rulers drove the Palestinian people of Gaza and the West Bank off their land

and into the work force as a much-needed pool of low-paid labor for Israeli capitalists and landowners.

Feldman's history appeared as a series in the *Militant* during 1988. His introduction, written last May, also was published in the *Militant*, as was the article by Sayad.

In his introduction, Feldman assesses the major political-diplomatic gains registered by the PLO when it declared the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Since that November 1988 declaration, more than 100 governments have extended some form of recognition to that state.

The Palestine liberation forces are in head-on conflict with the powerful Israeli government, as well as the power of U.S. imperialism, which provides generous military and financial aid to the Israeli rulers.

For the *intifada*, the political challenge is to change the relationship of forces. Feldman weighs the declaration of the Palestinian state in that context.

"Taken as a whole," he explains, "the PLO's diplomatic initiative registered the balance of forces confronting the Palestinian struggle today."

He points to the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, which compelled the PLO to evacuate its guerrilla fighters from that country, dispersing to several areas of the Mideast.

Earlier, in 1970, the PLO forces were the victims of a terrible bloodbath in Jordan, perpetrated by the Hussein regime there.

In 1979 the government of Egypt broke ranks with the Arab world and recognized the state of Israel. This further strengthened the hand of the Israelis against the PLO. Other blows were suffered by the Palestinians. All of these factors combine to make for an uphill struggle.

"Under current conditions," Feldman writes, "the PLO

call for the establishment of a Palestinian state advances the fight to end the Israeli regime's military rule and bloody repression in the West Bank and Gaza.

"The initiative is enabling Palestinian fighters to win more space to organize and is helping them gain broader support for their struggle against the Israeli regime.

"This also creates more favorable conditions for building a movement that can overturn this regime in the entire area that was formerly Palestine."

The PLO initiative, he writes, has put the Israeli government on the defensive and increased its difficulties at home and abroad. It exposes the unwillingness of the Israeli rulers to find a way to end the costly, bloody conflict.

In the United States, the PLO move to resolve the conflict has helped to develop opposition to the huge shipments of U.S. guns and dollars from Washington to Israel.

With such gains, he continues, "a more solid foundation is being laid from which to advance the revolutionary struggle to overturn the capitalist, settler state in Israel."

Overturning that state, he adds, "will open the road for the working people to forge a democratic, secular Palestine in which Arabs, Jews, Christians, and other people can live in peace, freedom, and equality."

In his final chapter, Feldman elaborates on why the perspective of a democratic secular state is essential.

"This perspective," he declares, "expresses common interests that can unite the Palestinian masses in the West Bank and Gaza with those in the rest of Palestine, and with Palestinians who are forced to live in exile."

"This contributes to forging unity in struggle of workers and farmers, Palestinian and non-Palestinian, throughout the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel."

## NOW calls Nov. 12 national abortion rights march

Continued from front page

ments that are used to explain away the poverty of minority women in this country and to justify sterilization abuse.

Others at the convention pointed to the contradiction of demanding reproductive freedom for women in the United States but population control for the developing world.

In a plenary discussion the following day, Mary Zins opposed advocating population control. Zins is a member of St. Louis NOW and the United Mine Workers of America.

"We in NOW support the right of every woman to reproductive freedom," she said. "I do not believe there is any population bomb. The problems of poverty in the world are not caused by too many people."

"The wealth of the United States and Western Europe," she charged, "has been built up by stealing the natural resources and other wealth of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America."

Instead of advocating restrictions on childbirth in these areas, Zins urged NOW members to "join with our brothers and sisters around the world to demand that the debt of developing countries be canceled and unfair terms of trade be ended."

**'Feminists don't fly Eastern'**

Many conference participants wore buttons and stickers reading, "Feminists don't

fly Eastern/Continental/SAS." Striking unionists from Eastern Airlines had a booth offering buttons, stickers, and literature on the strike.

Judy Coughlin, national secretary-treasurer of Transport Workers Union 553, gave a presentation to the workshop on Women and the Workplace. Her local organizes Eastern Airlines flight attendants who have refused to cross picket lines set up by striking machinists.

After 13 years of yielding concessions, she said, unionists found the takebacks instituted by company Chairman Frank Lorenzo too much to take. "So at midnight on March 4, we shut Frank Lorenzo down," she said.

"We had hoped that with the solidarity that we showed, it would get over quickly," she said. "Obviously, it didn't get over fast. Frank Lorenzo has decided to take it to the end, and so have we."

Coughlin urged NOW to support the flight attendants' "Counterattack '89," a campaign to educate the public about the issues in the Eastern Airlines strike.

A motion to back the Eastern strike and the strikes by coal miners against Pittston and New Beckley mines was the top vote getter at the workshop. A motion to back the miners' strikes had also been adopted by another

workshop at the urging of West Virginia NOW members.

The resolution to back the Eastern Airlines workers and the miners was adopted without objection at a plenary session of the convention.

"I want to thank NOW for the help and solidarity extended at this conference," said Eastern Airlines striker Susan Winsten, who addressed the plenary session July 23.

"We marched together April 9," she added. "We need to continue to work together and we hope to see you on the picket lines."

**Affirmative action**

A resolution adopted by the convention supported a proposal by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leader Benjamin Hooks for an August 26 march to protest Supreme Court rulings on affirmative action.

The resolution said the rulings "have severely curtailed existing legal rights and remedies for women and people of color in the work force and in other economic opportunities and have failed to give full force and effect to the national commitment to end discrimination and overcome the historic effect of past discrimination through affirmative action."



Militant/Elizabeth Snipper  
Molly Yard, president of National Organization for Women, at July 22 rally of 3,000 in Cincinnati to support abortion rights.

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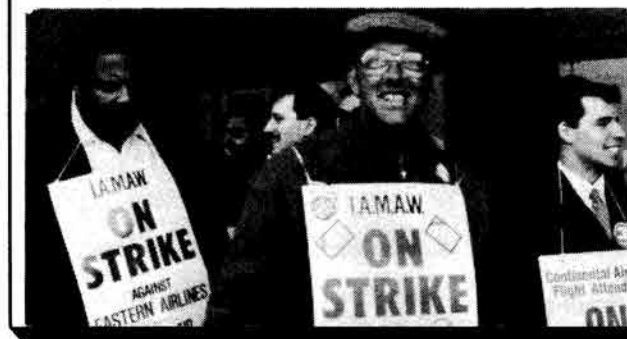
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# West Virginia miners end sympathy strikes as Pittston, union talk

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

CHARLESTON, W.Va. — Union coal miners in southern West Virginia, who walked off their jobs in mid-June supporting Pittston strikers, returned to work after the coal company and the miners union resumed contract talks.

On July 20 Pittston Coal Group and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) began negotiations in Duffield, Virginia. Talks had reached a standstill in June, and shortly afterward more than 44,000 UMWA members in 11 states went on strike in solidarity with the Pittston miners. The southern West Virginia miners were the last of the sympathy strikers to return to work.

On July 25, with no progress reported, negotiations were recessed for six days.

## Pension and health-care issues

The central issue emerging in the strike is the miners' pension and health-care funds. Pittston wants to establish its own health and retirement funds rather than contribute to the UMWA Benefit Trust Funds set up in 1950.

This industrywide retirement fund enables miners who are forced to work for different companies to receive a pension when they retire.

The union argues that if Pittston pulled out it would encourage other companies to follow suit undermining the entire fund.

The trust is already losing money because of declining industry payments and government cutbacks. In the past, coal operators paid into the fund based on the amount of coal mined — now it's according to the number of hours miners work.

When Pittston broke from the Bituminous Coal Operators Association during national contract talks with the UMWA in 1988, they stopped paying into the fund altogether and cut off health insurance for 1,500 retirees, widows, and disabled miners. Pittston still refuses to discuss the issue and now wants union members to pay 20 percent of their health plan.

The union asked Pittston to open its books to justify the take-away demands but they refused. When year-to-date profit figures were released on July 20, Pittston showed an \$8 million overall gain.

In June Pittston Coal Group imposed the terms of its final offer at its union mines, some of which are producing coal with scabs and management personnel. Weeks later the rest of Pittston's mines in West Virginia and Kentucky were called out on strike by the UMWA.

Striking Pittston miners and their brothers and sisters throughout the UMWA are determined to win this fight. "We're not prepared to take any backward steps," stated Terry Varney, picket captain for UMWA Local 5737 in Stone, Kentucky. Miners there have Pittston's Eastern Coal Co. shut down tight.

During the UMWA's six-week sympathy strike for the Pittston miners, hundreds of other unionists extended their solidarity with the miners and striking Eastern airlines workers through rallies, marches, and pickets.

## Appeals to nonunion miners

Nonunion mines, especially those owned by A.T. Massey Coal Co. have particularly been targeted. A 1984-85 selective strike against Massey ended in a defeat for the miners, who were forced to accept stiff concessions.

More than 800 miners and supporters held a sit-in near Massey's Elk Run mine, which resulted in 300 arrests on July 15.

In eastern Kentucky striking miners are picketing Pittston's nonunion mines. They report many of the miners, who make as little as \$6.50 an hour, are responsive to the efforts. The Women's Auxiliary there organized bucket collections to aid the strikers.

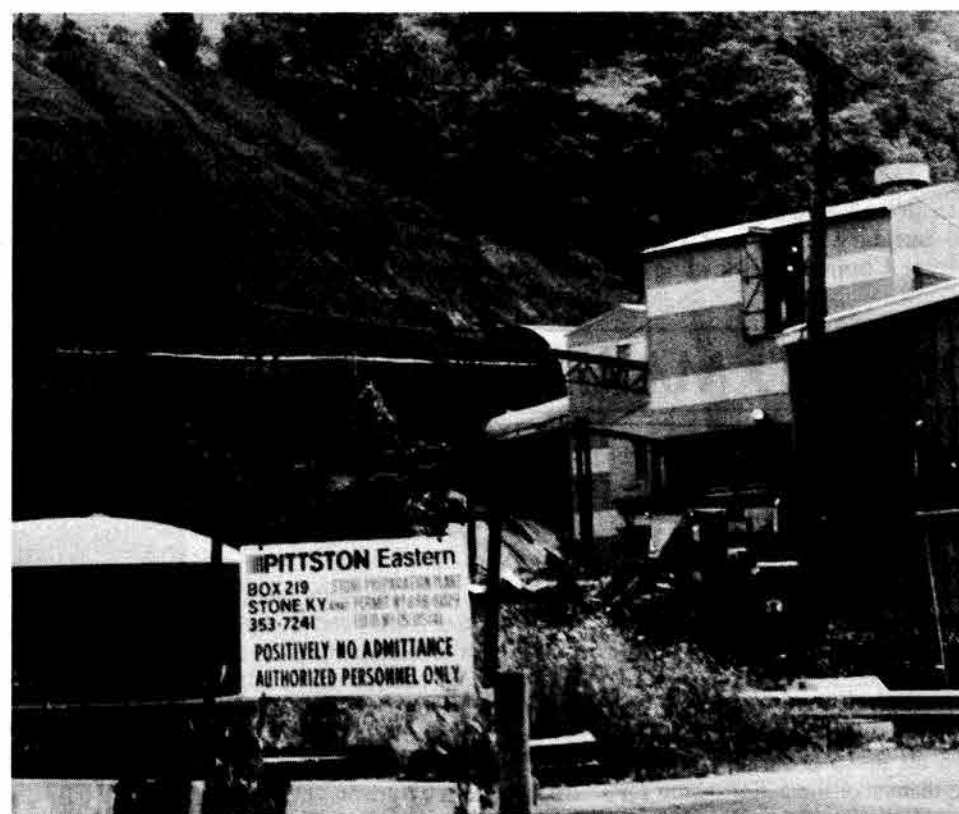
Some 250 unionists held a rally backing the Pittston miners on July 22 in Knoxville, Tennessee. A fund-raising concert there that night brought in \$1,500 for the strike.

UMWA Vice-president Cecil Roberts and 18 miners were jailed on July 25 for sitting in at a Pittston mine in Russell County, Virginia. Vigils and protests succeeded in pressuring a judge there to reduce the sentence of a jailed miner from three months to 10 days.

## NOW, Australian miners

At their annual convention held July 21-23, members of the National Organization for Women reaffirmed support for the Pittston miners and pledged to assist the women's auxiliaries of the unions.

The June 1989 *UMW Journal* carried the resolution passed by Australian miners at



Pittston's Eastern Coal Co. in Stone, Kentucky, remains shut down by union miners. Militant/Dan Fein

their national convention. Australian coal operators are Pittston's biggest competitors on the international market. The miners resolved "not allow any Australian coal to fill any shortfalls to international customers caused by the Pittston strike."

A rally sponsored by the UMWA and the AFL-CIO in support of Eastern strikers and Pittston miners is slated for August 13 in

Pittsburgh. Miners and other unionists from West Virginia are planning to attend.

When asked what it would take to win the Pittston strike, Terry Varney replied, "In a word — solidarity. Not only within the UMWA but with every labor organization in the world."

"If we don't stick together," he added, "the conglomerates are going to win."

# Capitalist crisis, socialist Cuba are topics at Australia, New Zealand communist conferences

BY GEORGE FYSON AND KATE BLAKENEY

An important advance in the development of the international communist movement was registered in two conferences held in New Zealand and Australia in early June.

The 11th National Conference of the Socialist Action League held in Auckland, New Zealand, June 3-5 decided to change the organization's name to the Communist League of New Zealand. There were 63 participants. At a June 10-12 conference in Sydney, the Communist League of Australia was formed. The conference was attended by 17 delegates and guests.

Leaders of the communist movement in both countries attended each of the conferences, along with other international guests from Britain, the United States, Canada, France, and Sweden.

Russell Johnson, national secretary of the Communist League of New Zealand, underlined the importance of the two conferences because they took place at a time when more and more capitalist spokespersons are claiming that communism is a discredited and dying force in the world. In reality, he insisted, it is capitalism that is in crisis. As a result, "a significant minority of young workers and students are being attracted toward communism, and we need a clear, unambiguous banner to present to them."

A dramatic sign of capitalism's crisis has been the series of massive social explosions in countries oppressed by imperialism such as Argentina and Venezuela.

The coming international recession will also have a devastating effect in the imperialist countries, bankrupting many major businesses and throwing hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers onto the unemployment scrap heap, Johnson pointed out. The New Zealand capitalist economy has already plunged into a deep recession in the wake of the 1987 stock market crash with unemployment soaring to 13 percent. It is even higher in some countries in Western Europe.

## Revolutionary Cuba

Johnson stressed that the impressive economic and social achievements of Cuba's revolutionary government pointed the way forward for the world's oppressed and exploited peoples. It has achieved these gains by drawing Cuba's workers and peasants more deeply into the building of a socialist society.

As an integral part of this process, the Cuban people are playing a major role in the worldwide fight against imperialism, the political resolution to the conference, which

was unanimously adopted, explained. These developments "place active defence of the Cuban revolution and its leadership, and the dissemination of its communist example, at the centre of the tasks of the working-class vanguard in all countries."

"Capitalism internationally has knocked down more national barriers in the last few decades than ever in its history," Johnson continued. "The worldwide penetration of capitalism has reached the point where one Japanese businessman refers to the 'borderless economy.' We see workers and displaced farmers traveling all over the world in search of jobs as part of this. Because of this, the coming capitalist depression will be truly worldwide in scope and will accelerate understanding among vanguard workers that a working-class solution must also have an international dimension."

Johnson described the transformation of the working class in New Zealand through the integration of descendants of indigenous Maoris and immigrants from the Pacific islands and Asia. "This increasingly gives the working class a 'Pacific,' rather than a 'New Zealand,' character."

## Australasian working class

At the same time, he said, the growing together of the New Zealand and Australian economies, combined with freedom of travel between the two countries for Australian and New Zealand citizens is "promoting the forging of an Australasian working class. This is occurring above all by the immigration of New Zealand-born or resident workers, including thousands of Maoris and Pacific Islanders, to economically stronger Australia in search of jobs."

"These trends," the political resolution concludes, "place the struggle for international working-class unity at the centre of a class-struggle perspective for defending the immediate interests of the working class against the effects of the economic crisis and capitalist profit drive on both sides of the Tasman Sea," which separates the two countries.

A serious fight in opposition to the racism and cop violence that is directed against the Aboriginal people of Australia must be at the center of the efforts to unify the working class, Lee Walkington emphasized in one of the reports at the Sydney conference. He explained that while more than 100 Blacks have died while in police custody over the past two years, no cop has been convicted for any of the murders.

The Communist League leader also outlined campaigns in solidarity with the Cuban



Militant Lee Walkington, a leader of the Communist League of Australia.

revolution, the freedom struggle in southern Africa, and with Mark Curtis, a U.S. trade unionist framed up for his labor and political activities. These campaigns will be carried out from the League's base in the industrial unions centered in the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union.

## Response to China events

In the political report to the conference, Ron Poulsen described the Communist League's response to the massacre of hundreds of Chinese students in Tiananmen Square. When thousands of Chinese students in Sydney demonstrated in support of the struggle for democratic and political rights in China, League members sold more than 60 copies of the *Militant* and held discussions with the demonstrators. They also organized a successful forum on the events in China during their conference at which Russell Johnson was the guest speaker. Among the 30 people who attended were eight Chinese students.

The conferences in both Australia and New Zealand unanimously adopted the 1988 Draft Political Resolution of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. The resolution is centered on the deepening crisis of the international capitalist system and the need to build communist organizations now in preparation for the major class battles that will be the inevitable result. They also adopted the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, which is published in pamphlet form by Pathfinder Press.

## In our next issue

### Firsthand report on July 26 rally in Cuba

*Militant* correspondent Selva Nebbia is in Cuba on a Third World Journalists' trip. She attended the July 26 rally in Camaguey, where Cuban President Fidel Castro spoke, and will be writing a report for our next issue, along with coverage on other developments.



# Curtis defense effort wins new support in France

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year jail term on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an

attended by over 100,000 young people. SOS-Racisme is an antiracist organization that has campaigned to defend immigrant workers' rights in France. Fifty-one endorsers signed up from 18 French provinces.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

international campaign for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

On July 8 supporters of the Curtis defense effort set up tables at a demonstration of 20,000 and a concert of 200,000 in Paris protesting the recent summit meeting of leaders from the seven imperialist powers. The themes of the actions were for an end to the Third World debt, against apartheid in South Africa, and against colonialism.

They gathered 260 signatures for a telegram to Warden John Thalacker protesting the harsh punishment Curtis had received when he had spit during a prison basketball game. Many of the signers donated five francs (US\$.80) to help pay for the telegram.

Prison authorities for the most part reversed the punishment after a protest campaign.

Thirty-five people endorsed the Curtis defense effort. They included two visitors from California and a Communist Party member from Lyons, France, who donated the equivalent of \$30. A total of \$150 was raised.

Hundreds of demonstrators took the time to read the large poster displays explaining the Curtis case and took defense material in French.

On June 10 several Curtis supporters had set up a similar table at the national SOS-Racisme concert

Seven of the new endorsers were high school students and 18 were college students.

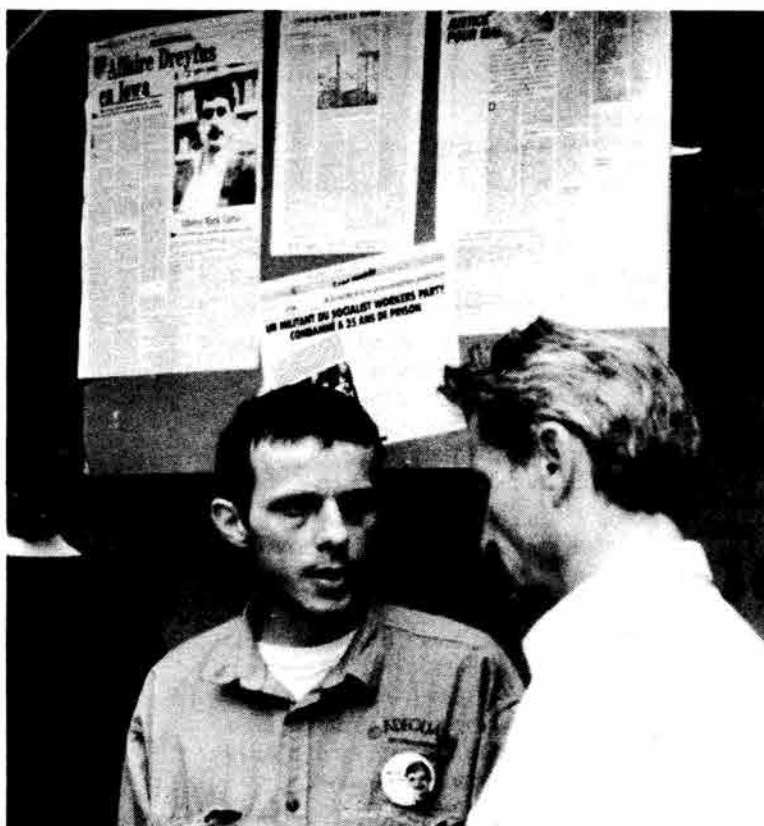
On July 11 prison authorities at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa granted permission for Mark Curtis to receive the Spanish- and French-language magazines, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Lutte ouvrière*.

This action by prison authorities represented a breakthrough in the international campaign by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to get the ban on non-English publications and materials sent to Curtis and other prisoners lifted.

The defense committee has called on all supporters of democratic rights and justice for Curtis to continue the campaign against the prison authorities denial of non-English correspondence and for ending the restrictions on the right of prisoners to share literature with each other.

Protests should be addressed to: John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

Copies should be sent to: Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319; Paul Grossheim, Director of the Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.



Militant/Derek Jeffers  
A Curtis supporter explains the case at a concert in Paris, France. Thirty-five new Curtis supporters were signed up July 8.

The following protests against the non-English ban were sent to prison authorities from workers who belong to the two U.S. garment workers' unions.

"We believe in the need to build solidarity and friendship between the peoples of the world," wrote several members of Local 114 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Kansas City, Missouri. "Education and communication between peoples of different cultures, languages, and backgrounds is a vital step in breaking down the walls of racial prejudice and intolerance that keep us

divided. Maintaining the free exchange of ideas as a constitutional right for everyone, including prisoners, must be reaffirmed."

The above message had a handwritten postscript added and signed by two workers. Written in Spanish it said, "We want to know why Mark Curtis is not able to receive letters in Spanish. We are not able to write in English and want to write in Spanish."

Thirty-one members and officials of Local 64 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Milwaukee sent the following protest in English and Spanish.

"We are members of ACTWU

and speak many languages. Our union newspaper *Labor Unity* has sections in English, Spanish, and French, and would be contraband under the current rule. We urge you to end that unfair restriction and allow all of the inmates to receive and share material in any language."

Members of the Madison, Wisconsin, organization Community Action on Latin America, an affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, voted unanimously to endorse the Curtis defense effort and called for Curtis' exoneration.

The group composed a five-page letter to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee with their conclusions after reviewing the facts and materials in the Curtis case. "None of us know Mark Curtis personally," they explained, "but we believe we can recognize an evident injustice. Just as it is not necessary to travel to El Salvador and Guatemala in order to recognize that the government of the United States is effectively subsidizing assassins, it is not necessary to sit in the courtroom in Des Moines to recognize gross injustices."

Atlanta supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee have signed up two new endorsers of the defense campaign. They are C.T. Vivian, a well-known leader of the civil rights movement, and Tandi Gcabashe, a member of the African National Congress of South Africa. Gcabashe is the daughter of Albert Luthuli, who was an early leader of the ANC and Nobel Prize winner.

Derek Jeffers from Paris and Helen Lowenthal from Atlanta contributed to this column.

## Program set for Aug. 5-9 int'l socialist conference

BY PETER THIERJUNG

The upcoming International Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference will feature major political talks, rallies, special events, and classes. The conference takes place in Oberlin, Ohio, August 5-9.

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party will speak on issues central to understanding world politics today. The presentations will focus on the crisis of imperialism, communism and Cuba's example, sharpening class conflict in the United States, defense of the workers' and farmers' government in Nicaragua, and building a party of communist workers.

Many conference participants will be activists in the fight for justice for Mark Curtis, the Des Moines, Iowa, meat-packer and political activist who was framed on rape and burglary charges. Curtis is now serving a 25-year jail term.

On Sunday evening, August 6, the Mark Curtis Defense Committee will sponsor a rally at the conference reflecting the international support the Curtis case has enlisted.

Speakers will discuss the current campaign to prevent prison authorities from isolating Curtis by banning non-English literature and other measures. The campaign against these attacks, as well as committee fund-raising efforts, will be outlined.

Rally participants will include Alfredo Alvarez, chair of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, which is under attack by city authorities for its exposure of racist and sexist police practices.

Other speakers will be Susan Mnumzana, secretary for women's affairs of the African National Congress Observer Mission to the United Nations; Sammie Roberts, president of the Alabama National Organization for Women; Denis Hiestand, a farm activist from New Zealand; and Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker who waged a decade-long fight to win U.S. residency and is currently a member of United Rubber Workers Local 310 in Iowa.

Kate Kaku, a leader of the Curtis defense committee and Curtis' wife, who traveled to Sweden, Denmark, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia to build support for the defense effort, will speak, along with Hazel Zimmerman, a leader of the defense committee who will have just completed a tour of Iowa. A unionist active in the strike against Eastern Airlines and Curtis endorsers from Britain, Sweden, and Canada will also address the rally.

On Monday evening, August 7, a rally to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution will take place. Activists in the U.S. labor and farm movements and from organizations working to get out the truth in the United States about Cuba will speak. The importance of Cuba's role in southern Africa will be a feature of the event.

Two panel discussions will be scheduled on the struggles in southern Africa and on the Caribbean and Central America.

## Curtis committee raises \$25,000 — plans to collect \$100,000 by Nov. 1

BY NAN BAILEY

DES MOINES — The Mark Curtis Defense Committee here has announced plans to extend until November 1 the deadline for an ambitious \$100,000 fund launched this spring for the defense effort.

Some \$25,000 has been raised so far in this drive by Curtis supporters from around the world. The funds raised will help meet new legal expenses, travel costs for defense committee representatives, and cost for the production and distribution of more literature.

"This extension will give us more time to organize and successfully meet our largest fund-drive goal so far," Curtis Defense Committee Coordinator Stu Singer explained. "Most important, this extension will make it possible to include premiere showings of the

video prepared by Hollywood director Nick Castle in the fund-raising campaign."

The Castle video, which exposes the frame-up of Curtis, is expected to be completed in August and will be available for showings by Curtis supporters in September and October. Premiere showings of the video will be important opportunities to reach out and win new interest, support, and financial backing for Curtis.

Curtis supporters around the world can coordinate the organization of these video premieres with the defense committee in Des Moines.

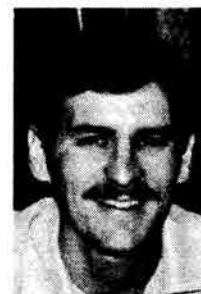
To make a contribution to the defense effort or for more information contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

control, the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, what is imperialism, the Palestinian struggle, recent events in China, what trade unions are, and more.

For more information, contact the distributor of the *Militant* nearest you (see the directory on page 12), or write to the SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## from PATHFINDER The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$2.50.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.)



# Pathfinder's promotion, publishing program 'one of the most ambitious in years'

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — "Pathfinder's publishing and promotion schedule this summer is one of the most ambitious we've undertaken in a number of years," Norton Sandler said.

"In the first six months of this year sales were 20 percent higher than in 1988," Helen Meyers added.

Sandler and Meyers organize sales for Pathfinder Press, an international publishing house based in New York. Its publishing projects include the speeches and writings of contemporary revolutionaries such as Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, and leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Pathfinder publishes the writings of Cuban Communist leaders Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, as well as of U.S. communist leaders James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and Joseph Hansen. It is also publishing a multi-volume series on the Communist International in V.I. Lenin's time.

Meyers provided one example of the response Pathfinder is getting. She reported that the first run of 5,700 copies of *Thomas Sankara Speaks* is entirely sold out. "The run was meant to be a three-year supply," she said. The book was published in the latter half of 1988 and is a compilation of speeches by Thomas Sankara, the leader of the 1983-87 revolution in the West African country of Burkina Faso.

Sandler and Meyers outlined Pathfinder's summer effort. In the last two months three new books have rolled off the presses — *Fidel Castro: In Defense of Socialism*, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, and *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. The new Malcolm X book presents speeches never before published. The first run is 27,000 copies, one of Pathfinder's largest.

Other new titles include a pamphlet on the Palestinian struggle by Fred Feldman and Georges Sayad, a Farsi edition of Che's *Socialism and Man*, and new Spanish and Swedish editions of the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

## Malcolm X, Sankara reprints

Pathfinder is also reprinting a series of titles that have sold out. These include printing 20,000 copies of *By Any Means Necessary*, a popular collection of Malcolm X's speeches; 10,000 copies of *The Last Year of Malcolm X*; and 7,000 cloth copies of *Malcolm X Speaks*, which will now include an index and new photos; and another 6,000 copies of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

Publishers and book distributors across the United States are experiencing increased de-

mand, particularly among Black youth. The *Los Angeles Times* took notice in an article last March called "Black Youth: Assertive New Pride." "Once the kids get a taste of

## Sales are 20 percent higher this year than in 1988.

Malcolm X, they want everything they can get their hands on," one bookstore manager told the *Times*.

Increased promotional activity by Pathfinder bookstores internationally is also helping sales.

The 33 Pathfinder bookstores in the United States combined with 11 Pathfinder bookstores in Canada, Britain, Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand, and Australia account for more than a quarter of Pathfinder's sales.

## Sales representatives hit the road

In line with its publishing projections, Pathfinder has stepped up its use of sales representatives across the United States and of getting Pathfinder represented at international conferences and bookfairs.

Since June members of Pathfinder's editorial staff visited retailers, distributors, and chain stores in a number of states with success. "Before we had one sales representative, Priscilla March, on the road," Sandler said. "We have now substantially increased

our sales efforts by turning to the editorial staff. Who could better promote the books than the people most familiar with them?" he asked.

The promotional effort began with successful pilot trips in New York City and other areas in New York State. This was expanded in July to trips across Michigan, Ohio, Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and the Boston area. The trips focused on promoting Pathfinder's three new books and from there publicizing the entire line of titles.

Robert Dees visited more than 40 bookstores in Detroit and then proceeded to criss-cross Ohio visiting campus bookstores and other retailers. Dees reported that a number of book buyers said that they couldn't keep Malcolm X on the shelves because of rapid sales and were eager to order the new Malcolm X book.

"We were able to sell a wide variety of other titles," Dees said, "We just touched the tip of the iceberg."

Dees also visited chain stores that do not order directly from publishers. Even these visits were productive because they familiarized the individual chain stores with Pathfinder, Dees said.

More than 350 books were sold in Atlanta and parts of Alabama by Bob Schwarz. It was Schwarz's first week out. "The personal visits make a difference in the numbers and kinds of books ordered," he explained. "I often sold books by explaining what they were about. Often they were titles that buyers would not

ordinarily purchase."

Schwarz found a number of stores were expanding or initiating Black literature sections. One large southern record-and-tape chain store was incorporating a book section featuring a variety of Black literature.

In the Boston area, Mike Baumann visited several dozen bookstores. "Many buyers were familiar with Pathfinder, but they were surprised when they found out how many titles we publish," he said.

All three sales representatives reported good sales of the other new titles by Castro and Guevara and a cross-section of books covering the Russian revolution, women's liberation, political rights, and labor history.

A number of new accounts were opened. Some inactive accounts placed orders again. Several bookstores said they wanted to hear from Pathfinder sales representatives prior to Black History Month next February.

Pathfinder representatives have been participating in an international bookfair in Managua, Nicaragua, this month and over the next few months will promote book sales at fairs and conferences in Africa, the Caribbean, Canada, and the United States. In August they will be at the Zimbabwe Bookfair held in Harare; in September at the Latin American Studies Conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and at the "New York Is Book Country" bookfair; and in November at the African Studies Conference in Atlanta and at a conference on "Thirty Years of the Cuban Revolution: An Assessment" to be held in Nova Scotia, Canada.

# 'Militant' makes major staff changes

BY DOUG JENNESS

The *Militant* is making some major changes in its staff that will both help bring the paper more in tune with the younger generations of workers coming into political activity today and at the same time strengthen communist leadership nationally and around the country.

Three new members have been added to the staff, and four others are leaving for other tasks in the revolutionary workers' movement and other locations.

Those who have recently been added to the staff include Roni McCann, who was organizer of the SWP branch in Los Angeles before coming onto the paper. She had recently been a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and an oil refinery worker and member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

Last October she was part of a *Militant* reporting team to Cuba, where she attended the conference of the Women's Continental Front Against Intervention.

Peter Thierjung was the organizer of the SWP branch in Oakland, California. Prior to this he worked in an assembly plant organized by the International Association of Machinists. He also covered local labor struggles and political activities for the *Militant*. Earlier this year Thierjung participated in a trip to the Philippines to promote Pathfinder publications.

In the mid-1980s he was national chairperson of the YSA and editor of the *Young Socialist*.

Selva Nebbia was the editor of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, before she joined the *Militant* staff. She is a longtime activist in the SWP and has been a member of several unions, most recently the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

## Longtime staff members

Leaving the staff are Margaret Jayko, Cindy Jaquith, Fred Feldman, and Harry Ring.

Jayko, who has been one of the *Militant* editors since 1984, came on the staff in 1981. She joined the socialist movement in New York in 1973 and was national chairperson of the YSA and editor of the *Young Socialist* just before coming onto the *Militant* staff. She is moving to Oakland, California, where she will help lead the political work of the Socialist Workers Party on the West Coast.

Cindy Jaquith has been on the *Militant* staff for most of the period since 1972 and has served as one of the paper's editors. She headed the *Militant's* Washington, D.C., bureau in the 1970s and later was director of its Managua bureau from 1985 to 1987. Jaquith is assuming new responsibilities in helping to lead the SWP's national political and trade union work.

Fred Feldman worked on the staffs of the *International Socialist Review* and *Intercontinental Press* in the 1970s and served as editor of the *International Socialist Review* for several years. He was on the *Militant* staff from 1978-81.

For three years Feldman carried out political activity in Pittsburgh where he worked for a mine-equipment company and belonged to the United Mine Workers of America. When the *Militant* needed some experienced help in 1985, he was asked to return to the staff.

Feldman will continue to be active politically in Brooklyn, New York.

Harry Ring, who joined the staff in 1953, has been on the *Militant* longer than any staff member since the paper began publication in 1928. He served as an editor and for seven years in the 1970s headed the paper's Los Angeles bureau.

Now 71, he is withdrawing from the full responsibilities and work pace required of a staff member. However, "I'm far from retiring to a rocking chair," he says, and plans to contribute regularly to the paper, including keeping up his weekly column, "The Great Society," which he has been writing for the past 35 years.

The column, first called "Notes in the News," was begun by Joseph Hansen, editor of the *Militant* in the 1950s and '60s. It was turned over to Ring when he came on the paper. Over the years the column evolved, and its name was changed to "It Was Reported in the Press" and later to "The Great Society." The latter is a sarcastic reference to the hypocrisy of the label that President Lyndon Johnson put on the results of his administration's course in the mid-1960s. Ring would welcome suggestions for updating the name.

As a regular contributor Ring will write features and help out on the paper in other ways.

The *Militant* has recently also been picking up articles by Don Rojas, who was the press secretary for Maurice Bishop, head of the revolutionary government in Grenada until his murder in 1983.

Rojas is a well-known journalist from the Caribbean whose articles are widely published and read in newspapers throughout the region. His column, "Carib Notes," and other articles on the Caribbean and Latin America that we have been picking up are popular additions to the paper.

These changes mark a step forward in training political writers with some substantial experience in local political and union activity and from the generations that will be in the forefront of the class battles over the next decade.

We are confident this can be done as we continue to work at producing the most timely and politically useful newspaper each week to orient and help lead the work of communist activists nationally and internationally, as well as the growing vanguard of working people who follow the paper closely as a guide to action.

## New Malcolm X book sells well



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Display of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* was featured in window of B. Dalton bookstore in New York. It was recently published by Pathfinder. One hundred copies were sold in three days, many to people showing up to meet film director Spike Lee, who was autographing the screenplay of his new movie, *Do the Right Thing*.



# 600 at Detroit fund-raising picnic for strikers

The International Association of Machinists struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the unions at Eastern and impose massive concessions on the workers.

Backed by the 5,700 flight attendants and 3,300 pilots at Eastern, the strike by 8,300 Machinists

## SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

has crippled the carrier's operations since then. It has also won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity actions to this column.

More than 600 people converged on United Auto Workers Local 735's headquarters in Detroit for a labor picnic in solidarity with the Eastern strike. The July 23 picnic was a fund-raiser for the strikers and an organizing event for the mass picket

and rally planned for the Detroit Metropolitan Airport August 1.

A huge calendar for August was hung at the entrance to the union hall. "Join the picket line — one day a week and one day longer than Frank Lorenzo!" it said. A number of unions, including UAW Region 1-A, have agreed to organize members to walk the picket line one day each week. Several times during the picnic, strikers went through the crowd with leaflets for the August 1 rally.

The picnic raised close to \$10,000 for the strikers. Horseshoe tournaments and "Dunk Lorenzo" contests were held, and hundreds of strike T-shirts and buttons were sold. Almost everything at the event — from food to music — was donated by strike supporters, mainly other unionists.

"We're here to let the country know we are not back at work. We are on strike," Eastern flight attendant Jeri Pourmand told a rally of 200 in Oakland, California, July 15. "We're closer to winning this battle. We've held out this long because of the solidarity we feel here tonight. On the picket line we feel it every day."

The strike support rally was held

at Teamster Local 70's hall near the Oakland Airport. Officials from the Teamsters, California Federation of Labor, Machinists, and pilots unions spoke.

Linda Joplin, president of the California State National Organization for Women, saluted the unions' efforts to unite on behalf of the Eastern strike. She also called on the labor movement to join in the fight to defend women's right to choose abortion.

In response to a call by the local Coalition of Labor Union Women for a "morning on the Eastern picket line," some 50 unionists turned out July 8 at the Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport. Teamsters, government workers, meat-packers, steelworkers, machinists, and others came. They were stationed at every terminal door and distributed strike literature to passengers from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

IAM Local 1833 at the Twin Cities airport recently set a record for the largest contribution ever by an IAM local to a strike effort when they voted to donate \$40,000 to the AFL-CIO's Fairness at Eastern fund. The local is also organizing a food drive for the Eastern strikers July 29. Most Local 1833 members

work for Northwest Airlines.

All day July 2 some 35 strikers and supporters picketed Douglas Airport in Charlotte, North Carolina, in response to Eastern's resumption that day of three flights from there to Atlanta.

Workers from Piedmont Airlines' maintenance base in Winston-Salem; railworkers and garment workers from Greensboro; and communications workers from Charlotte were among the unionists who walked the picket line. There are 20 Eastern IAM strikers in Charlotte and 18 in Greensboro, about 90 miles away.

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers at Eagle Knitting Mills in Milwaukee decided at their July union meeting to set August 11 as an "ACTWU picket day" at Mitchell Airport.

The garment workers' action is part of an effort by unionists in Milwaukee to focus airport picketing on Mondays and Fridays. Eastern started up two daily flights from Milwaukee July 2, the first since the strike began.

A strike support rally in St. Louis

called by the Central Labor Council drew 250 unionists July 9. Among the speakers was Mary Zins, a coal miner from southern Illinois, then on strike in solidarity with Pittston miners. She urged unionists to step up support for the coal miners' fight to win a decent contract at Pittston and pledged support for the strike at Eastern.

After the rally, participants drove over to the airport, where traffic was snarled for an hour. About 50 people went up to the Eastern ticket counter in the terminal to talk to passengers about why they shouldn't fly Eastern. Then they went down to the gate where one of two newly resumed flights was taking off. "We pointed out to the passengers that in addition to having to cross a picket line, they should worry about the safety of their flight because 80 percent of the pilots and the vast majority of mechanics are just learning their jobs," reports Machinists union member Jim Rogers, an Eastern strike supporter who attended events at the airport that day.

*Kathie Fitzgerald from Detroit, Bill Scheer from Milwaukee, Kathleen Denny from Oakland, Natasha Terlexis from Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Rich Stuart from Greensboro contributed to this column.*

## Eastern strikers reach for broader labor backing

Continued from front page

airport, beginning at 4:45 p.m. The New Jersey Industrial Union Council, the state's umbrella labor organization, sent a mailing to 2,000 affiliated locals building the action.

The United Steelworkers and United Mine Workers unions are building a July 30 rally at the Carpenters' union hall near the Birmingham, Alabama, airport to support both striking Eastern workers and miners on strike at Pittston coal company. Eastern strikers from Atlanta will be attending.

In upstate New York, the Albany County AFL-CIO's Solidarity Committee has scheduled a rally at the Albany airport August 1.

Strikers in Los Angeles won support of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor for a "solidarity picket" at the airport July 29. Leaflets for the action have been produced in Spanish as well as English.

The Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO and International Association of Machinists Local 141 are organizing an August 1 rally at the airport from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., and mass picketing all day, starting at 7:30 a.m. Union locals in the Detroit area are also being urged by the AFL-CIO and Eastern strikers to pick one day a month to walk the picket line.

Strike support actions are planned at the Miami and Milwaukee airports July 30. In Milwaukee unions are also being organized to take responsibility for staffing the airport picket line on specific days.

At two strike meetings in Atlanta July 22, IAM District 100 President Charlie Bryan reported to some 500 strikers on recent congressional aviation subcommittee hearings, the lack of progress in court-ordered negotiations between the pilots and Eastern, and on other strike-related matters.

During the discussion that followed, workers asked what could be done to get more labor support for their strike. Ideas for a national march or some kind of national labor action to support the Eastern strike were raised. One worker suggested bringing United Mine Workers members to town to help out. Others raised the need for more effective tactics to stop scabs.

No one to do it for us

Strikers all over the country are having similar discussions.

"After almost five months on the picket line, it has become clear that no one is going to win this strike for us," said La Guardia IAM Local 1018 strike committee member Ernest Mailhot recently. "The July 2 actions showed the impact we can have when we're out there to greet passengers and ask for their support. We can win many of them to our side, but only if we and our supporters are

out there in a big way, every day — not just one time.

"This can only be done with the aid of the rest of the labor movement. We should expand our appeal to other unions and labor bodies, and urge them to step up support of our strike. That's how we got the backing of the New York Central Labor Council for the July 28 demonstration. That's how strikers in other cities are building actions and getting help staffing the picket lines."

"Working people all over the country," he added, "support our fight, and know what happens at Eastern will have a big effect on them. Broadening support in the labor movement can mobilize the solidarity that's out there."

"At La Guardia there are 13 flights each day now," Mailhot continued. "The strike activists here recognize that more pickets, more rallies, more demonstrations — more solidarity — is needed if we're going to meet this challenge. The only way to empty these

flights and beat back Frank Lorenzo's strike-breaking 'reorganization' plan is with the solid backing of the labor movement.

"Other airport and airline workers, and especially the rest of the IAM, have a special role to play in deepening this support," Mailhot stressed.

Because the strike has remained solid, Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo is having some difficulty getting enough trained personnel to service and fly all the projected new flights.

Less than 1 percent of the 8,500 Machinists union members who struck have crossed the picket line. Of the 3,400 pilots who walked out to support them, there are some 300 scab pilots flying now — including 200 who were working for management when the strike began. Eastern has hired 800 pilots since, but only 229 have completed training. Of the 5,900 flight attendants who struck in support of the Machinists, 5,150 have remained out.

## Air France workers support Eastern fight

NEW YORK — Air France workers at Charles De Gaulle Airport near Paris are learning more about the strike at Eastern Airlines, thanks to the efforts of two Air France mechanics who visited New York two months ago.

While here on vacation, Michel and Philippe stopped by the Eastern picket line at La Guardia Airport and also visited with strikers at the nearby Machinists Local 1018 headquarters.

When they returned to work at Charles De

Gaulle Airport, Michel and Philippe wore their "Stop Lorenzo" buttons. "People asked us about them," the two Air France workers wrote in a recent letter to a Local 1018 striker. "The next week, we set up a display on the Eastern strike next to the cafeteria where 600 Air France workers eat each day."

Michel and Philippe also spoke to union officials at the airport about the strike.

As a result of the workers' initiatives, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) locals representing Air France workers at Charles De Gaulle Airport sent a message of solidarity to Local 1018. The CGT is associated with the Communist Party and the CFDT with the Socialist Party.

The CGT and CFDT at Air France, the message says, "having learned of your struggle against the management of Texas Air and Eastern Airlines, represented by Frank Lorenzo, offer you our complete solidarity."

"Your struggle in defense of your wages and working conditions, and for safe and quality air transport, is also our struggle."

"We ourselves had a three-month struggle and a strike over the same questions, because of the same drive toward deregulation. There is a brutal competition, and workers, passengers, and safety are paying the price for it."

"We're ready to give you any help or solidarity action. We begin by fighting here for the same demands you are fighting for."

"We wish you a total victory and send our union greetings," the message ends.



Philippe (left) and Michel, who set up display about Eastern strike in Paris airport.



# Wheelock explains Nicaraguan policy toward landowners

## Affirms goal of accord with capitalists

The following interview with Jaime Wheelock, Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform, appeared in the July 11, 1989, *Barricada*, published daily in Managua by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

According to *Barricada*, the interview offered the government an opportunity to explain its relationship to private business in view of fears by some owners that the government plans further confiscations like those carried out on the properties of three capitalist coffee growers in June. The farms of the three — Enrique Bolaños, Jaime Cuadra, and Arnoldo Alemán — prominent leaders of the antigovernment businessmen's association, the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), were expropriated following a meeting of coffee producers. At this gathering the three reportedly called on other growers to boycott production in defiance of Nicaraguan government attempts to cement an accord to increase production with capitalist farmers and ranchers.

The translation to English is by the Militant.

\* \* \*

*Barricada.* As the result of the expropriations of Bolaños, Cuadra, and Alemán, can you say that the attempt to reach an accord with the businessmen affiliated to COSEP has failed?

*Wheelock.* From the beginning, COSEP opposed the accord. They saw in government attempts to create a climate of mutual under-

**"We expropriated those who use their position to call for paralysis of production."**

standing a threat to their aims of waging economic war and of unraveling the revolutionary process.

However, since we launched the effort to reach an accord, the great majority of producers have welcomed it, displaying a more positive attitude of understanding, rapprochement, and work. At the present time, a great many private producers are investing in coffee, cattle, and other export crops. I know cases of some producers who have brought back profits that they had taken out of the country, and I think that this year all this will be reflected in increased exports of beef, coffee, and cotton — another result of the accord.

*Barricada.* What has been the reaction of the top leadership of COSEP?

*Wheelock.* They have tried to take advantage of this action to deepen the confrontation with the government. They gave written orders to all their members who are agricultural producers to withdraw from the national commissions [the organizational form the government created to try to carry out the accord — *Militant*] in an open declaration of hostilities, seeking total war.

But what happened?

Luckily, few landowners followed this order. The coffee growers stayed in the commissions. I just received an official note from the Association of Cotton Farmers of León that they are not withdrawing from the national commission, although they express their disagreement with the expropriations. With regard to cattle ranchers, both beef producers and dairy farmers work in the national commission. One or another of them has not attended commission meetings.

*Barricada.* How do you interpret this "disobedience" of their top leadership on the part of the COSEP member associations?

*Wheelock.* It is the reaction of producers who don't want to find themselves involved in political wrangles, of people whose aim is to produce. That is why the big majority

decided to stay with the national commissions — in order to continue reaching agreement with other productive sectors and with the government on problems of production.

We have said on various occasions that we did not want these commissions to get involved in politics, because there are different positions that exist within them and if they got involved in politics, they would not be able to work around common interests in production.

*Barricada.* Is it a government decision to continue the expropriations?

*Wheelock.* In this political confrontation, the government is going to defend itself resolutely from those who follow the course of total war against the economy. We did not expropriate anyone for their political opinions. Rather, we expropriated those who control property and want to abuse their position to call for a paralysis of production, those who have used their activities and production itself as a tool of blackmail against the government and the people. We have expropriated those who have wanted to use their property as a weapon against the revolution.

If Bolaños had made a speech at his party's headquarters, we would have cared less. But the speeches by Bolaños and Cuadra were made at a meeting they themselves had organized. And the meeting was not organized to discuss with growers the economic measures as they affect coffee production. Rather it was organized to paralyze coffee production, to take advantage of the disagreement among coffee growers with some of the economic measures — to convert the disagreement into a rebellion, into a political strike by the producers. Meanwhile they called for the overthrow of the government, assuming dictatorial attitudes toward those who disagreed with them.

**Don't recognize revolutionary gov't**

These people do not recognize the revolutionary government, and they try to negate the government's leadership of the country's economy.

*Barricada.* What responsibility does private enterprise have in the fall in production in certain branches of agricultural production?

*Wheelock.* We have to recognize the fact that the agrarian transformation that finished off *somocismo* and the idle landholding oligarchy, although it has created thousands of new landowners, also frightened others and stripped them of motivation. This was true above all among big landowners, whose response has been to produce less, especially of export crops.

It is true that there has been a decrease in world prices, but we are concerned about the tendency toward a drop in production among big private farmers. We propose a recovery of this production in the coming years as a principal goal of the revolutionary government.

That is why the government launched the accord. And what is involved in this is that small, medium, and large producers, along with the state, through a measure aimed at uniting them in the recovery of production, are being asked to each do their bit, to make concessions and to create an atmosphere of joint effort in the midst of the tremendous difficulties the country faces.

The situation is complex, and the state recognizes that the private producers must be assured two basic conditions: that the legitimacy of their property and their role as organizers of production are guaranteed.

**Transform negative image**

The producers must play an active role, transforming the negative image the people have of them from the epoch of *somocismo*. But at the same time, the businessman has to understand that the workers are living under difficult conditions. They must make great sacrifices to raise production while they



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Peasant family on farm east of Matagalpa, Nicaragua. The businessman has to understand that the workers are living under difficult conditions and make great sacrifices, says Wheelock.

receive wages that barely make it possible for them to survive.

*Barricada.* Concretely, what is it that the state is demanding from the producers in the accord?

*Wheelock.* That they modify their evasive conduct with profits; that they work, invest, return the hard currency they have placed outside the country; that they reside in the country; and that they adopt a responsible way of acting with the workers, a modern way distinct from that followed by the feudal lords of the *somocista* period.

*Barricada.* And the businessmen can feel confidence in this model of the revolution?

*Wheelock.* For months the revolution has been telling the producers that we should unite, should establish a society with a long-term perspective for the recovery of production. We have even said that this is a patriotic, necessary, historic task and that in this period

**"Recovery of production is a principal goal of the revolutionary government."**

of crisis it is necessary to put aside ideological and political differences and to assume, through reciprocal commitments, the task of working for the good of Nicaragua. We must create a framework of confidence that nourishes all of us.

*Barricada.* Do the producers have a secure future in this model of revolution?

*Wheelock.* The producers have a secure future in Nicaragua as long as they understand that the transformations carried out were absolutely necessary to form a new society in which they have a place. Moreover,

## Court stays Justice Department's order to deport Joseph Doherty

BY PETER THIERJUNG

NEW YORK — A Justice Department order to deport Joseph Doherty, an Irish political activist in jail here, has been stayed until his petition for a political asylum hearing is heard. On June 30 U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh ordered Doherty's deportation to Britain.

Mary Pike, an attorney for Doherty, said the asylum hearing cannot be scheduled, however, until the Justice Department notifies her of the deportation order.

If the Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholds the order by Thornburgh, it could go into effect immediately, before an appeal could be made to the U.S. Supreme Court. "The Justice Department will be waiting at the door" to spirit Doherty "away within 30 seconds of the decision" said Congressman Thomas Manton, a supporter of Doherty's case.

the constitution adopted by the revolution guarantees property that is worked efficiently and that fills a social role.

Property is not conceived now as it was in the Civil Code of 1890, that is, as everlasting, absolute, and exclusive. Rather it has a social function, and the producer has to understand that he lives in a revolutionary society, which strives after the well-being of humanity, where the people and the society come first.

*Barricada.* What will happen if, in the confrontation between Nicaragua and the empire, the COSEP tops continue to place themselves in the camp of the empire?

*Wheelock.* Up to now, the official position of the right wing in COSEP has been one of confrontation, not only against the government but also against the socioeconomic and political regime of the country. Their attitude is one of permanent rebellion. They encourage all trends that lead to strikes, aggression, and the overthrow of the government. This position is a liquidationist, adventurist one, and sooner or later it will force the government to take action against the properties of those who are convinced along this line.

On several occasions, the government has issued messages of conciliation. The moment has arrived when COSEP should seek a readjustment, should modify the confrontationist line.

As I see it, we are going to remain with a mixed economy of small, medium, and large patriotic producers who understand the socioeconomic model that this generation is embarking on in Nicaragua. It is not any different than the one being developed in other countries. In the south of Spain, for example, they are liquidating all the latifundios. In El Salvador, the law establishes that properties bigger than 350 acres be expropriated. Here we have been moderate, and medium and large properties will have a role to play when we begin agroindustrial production.

In summary, I think we should reach a social pact, although up to now COSEP has refused and has placed itself outside the law.

British authorities accuse Doherty of killing a captain of the British occupation forces in Northern Ireland. Along with seven other Irish Republican Army prisoners, he escaped jail. He fled to the United States, but was later arrested by the FBI.

Since 1983, despite winning a number of legal victories in his fight against the government's efforts to hand him over to British authorities, he has been held in jail uncharged and unconvicted of any crimes against U.S. laws.

Doherty's fight has won substantial support in the Irish community and among other supporters of democratic rights and Irish freedom.

To contribute to Doherty's legal defense, or for further information on the case, write to the National Committee for Joseph Doherty, P.O. Box 20474, Midtown Station, New York, N.Y. 10129.



# 'We will take exemplary measures to eradicate outrages like this'

## Editorial presents drug-trafficking case against Cuban general

The following editorial, "We will take exemplary measures to eradicate outrages such as this," appeared in the June 22 *Granma*, daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba.

It reports on an investigation into the drug smuggling operation carried out by Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa, Col. Antonio La Guardia, and other high-ranking officials of the Cuban army and Ministry of the Interior. Their trial began June 25.

Ochoa, La Guardia, Capt. Jorge Martínez, and Maj. Amado Padrón were found guilty of drug trafficking and high treason, sentenced to death, and executed on July 13. Ten other army and Interior Ministry officials were sentenced to prison for their roles in the drug trafficking.

The translation is from the July 2 English-language edition of *Granma Weekly Review*.

\* \* \*

In keeping with the promise to inform the people and international public opinion about everything related to drug trafficking in the Ochoa-La Guardia case, the leadership of the party and the investigators from the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) and the Ministry of the Interior (MININT) have provided *Granma* with a report on the results obtained so far in the rigorous investigations.

What has been established and confirmed already makes up a large body of facts and data that permit us to construct a fair approximation of what happened in this exceptional case of disloyalty to the people, to ethics and to the principles of the revolution.

No prejudice, no false pride will prevent us from fully exposing the facts, from putting them before the people to judge and then before the courts so that they provide exemplary punishment for the culprits. By doing so, the revolution will not be weakened; on the contrary, it will be strengthened as has always happened, with its worthy and courageous stand, its invariable norm of always telling the people the truth and never lying.

We must say that after admitting the main thing, both Ochoa and Tony La Guardia, the two main guilty parties in this matter, have not cooperated very much in clarifying the facts. As everyone knows, our revolution has never used and will never use violent methods to obtain information. This is an unbreakable rule both for counterrevolutionary and common crimes, and it holds equally for long-standing enemies and those who until recently were fighters in our own ranks.

Only grudgingly and to the extent that they were confronted with testimony, facts, and irrefutable evidence have Ochoa and Tony La Guardia acknowledged their responsibility in the course of questioning, formulated with the strictest respect for their personal dignity.

The tactic followed has been to obtain

testimony and evidence regardless of the cooperation or confession of the two main defendants. Others involved have cooperated much more effectively, although not all of them in the same degree, with precise and objective statements about what happened.

Ochoa's initial ideas about drug trafficking developed in mid-1986 when among other tasks he headed the 10th Division of MINFAR, [Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces] which handled military cooperation with other countries, with the exception of the Cuban military missions in Angola and Ethiopia, which were directly supervised by the general staff.

While on a working visit to Panama, Ochoa's aide, Jorge Martínez Valdés, received on behalf of Frank Morfa, a U.S.

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**Clandestine trip to Colombia was one of most irresponsible deeds of Ochoa and the La Guardia group . . .**  
”

citizen of Italian origin, the suggestion that he take part in money laundering operations. Ochoa was consulted and agreed without much thought. He instructed Martínez on some ways of doing this, although neither of the two had any experience in such activities.

The initial contact came to nothing, but Martínez, on Ochoa's instructions, continued seeking similar connections until roughly between October and November 1986 he made contact with the Colombian citizen Fabel Pareja.

### Colombian drug dealers

These ties developed in the first months of 1987, at which point Pareja told Martínez that he should contact his boss directly to discuss both drugs and money laundering. He made it clear in this conversation that he worked for Pablo Escobar, well-known leader of the Medellín cartel in Colombia. He also asked Martínez for information needed to issue him a false Colombian passport so he could go to that country. Ochoa was consulted, and he told Martínez to accept that the false Colombian passport be issued to him.

All this took months, for Martínez was not stationed abroad but did travel with certain frequency on supposed work assignments under instructions from Ochoa.

Between October and November 1987, Martínez was given the Colombian passport made out in the name of Fidel Buitrago Martínez. By then Ochoa knew that Tony La

Guardia, from the MC Department of the Ministry of the Interior, also had contacts with Escobar's people, a fact he mentioned to Martínez.

Early in November Ochoa was ordered to go to the People's Republic of Angola on an assignment. Thus he was no longer in charge of the 10th Division. Shortly afterward Martínez, being his aide, also went to Angola.

In spite of Ochoa's new task, whereby he was far from Cuba, Ochoa did not renounce his obsessive ideas on the drug trade.

### Havana meeting

In the second half of April 1988, Ochoa sent Martínez to Cuba so he could attend a meeting in Havana with Tony La Guardia and the representatives of Pablo Escobar who had come to the country as tourists. Martínez left Angola with a message from Patricio La Guardia, who was serving there, for Tony La Guardia, urging him to fully cooperate with Martínez. Patricio had very close ties with Ochoa, and it is clear that at that time Ochoa not only knew what Tony La Guardia was doing but was also getting help from him. The cooperation of the La Guardia brothers, especially Tony's, was very useful to Ochoa in organizing Martínez' trips, which violated all norms, regulations, document, and travel controls established by MINFAR for its officers. In this way Martínez made many trips abroad without going through the formalities.

When he left Angola, Martínez had Ochoa's permission to visit Colombia for direct negotiations with Pablo Escobar.

From the airport in Boyeros [Cuba] he went straight to Tony La Guardia's house, but Tony wasn't home. The next day they

“  
**Hundreds of thousands of dollars began to turn up in hideouts and homes of relatives . . .**  
”

met at Amado Padrón's office and Tony La Guardia put the necessary stamps on Martínez' Colombian passport to show the arrival in Cuba of the alleged traveler of that nationality.

Shortly afterward, on that same day, a meeting was held in Playa municipality between foreign visitors identified, according to witnesses' recollections, as Fernando, Rubén, Noty, and a pilot on the one side and, on the other, Amado Padrón, Leonel Estévez Soto (Joel), and Eduardo Díaz Izquierdo, from the Tony La Guardia group, and Martínez.

They discussed various subjects related to drug trafficking, possible forms of cooperation, etc.

At that meeting they even considered the farfetched notion of a cocaine factory in Africa. Ochoa was to set it up, and Tony La Guardia and his group would handle sales in Europe.

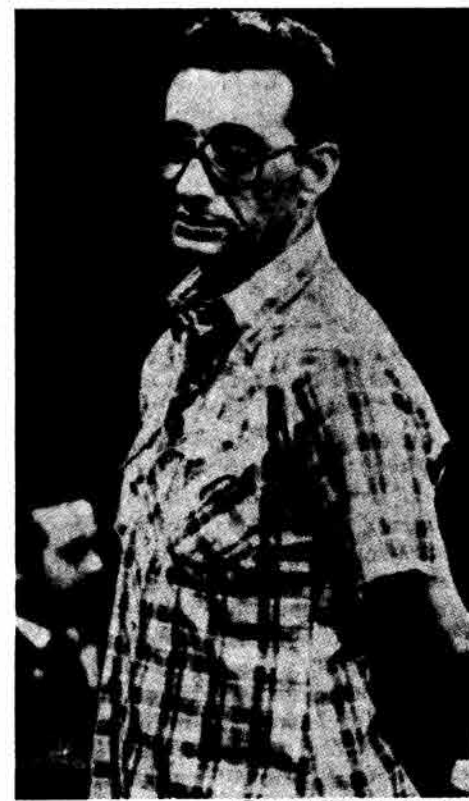
They also talked about the possibility of counterfeiting dollars and the need to get the right kind of paper.

Finally, it was decided that Martínez would go to Colombia for direct talks with Escobar.

The next morning, caught up in a real business fever, Amado Padrón and Luis Pineda (Willy), from Tony's group, and Martínez met with two Mexican visitors known as El Negro and Neto and two U.S. citizens to discuss money laundering and drug trafficking. They agreed to have a meeting with the Colombians. The meeting was held that same afternoon with the participation of the above-mentioned Mexicans and the Colombians, and the Cubans Amado Padrón, Eduardo Díaz Izquierdo, Joel, and Martínez. They agreed that cocaine was to be sent to the United States via Mexico in a sort of three-party drug pact. The mad idea barely got off the ground due to problems they blamed on the Mexicans.

### Pablo Escobar

In early May Martínez went to Medellín on an Aerolíneas Colombianas plane. At the airport he was met by one of Escobar's broth-



Granma Weekly Review  
**Arnaldo Ochoa testifying at his trial for cocaine smuggling. He "endangered not only the prestige but even the security of our nation."**

ers. After many checks and security measures, he was taken to see the all-powerful Pablo Escobar, head of the cartel. Martínez and Escobar quickly reached an agreement to ship cocaine via Cuba at \$1,200 per kilogram. Escobar expressed his appreciation for the visit but added something interesting. He said he had already undertaken drug deals with the help of Cuban officials.

Martínez and Escobar agreed that the first operation would take place two months later. Martínez had been given precise instructions beforehand by Amado Padrón on how it should be done. A boat flying the Panamanian flag, called *Jennifer*, would pick up 2,000 kilograms of cocaine at sea and sail to a precise spot near Cienfuegos. Eduardo Díaz Izquierdo and Martínez would go aboard while Amado Padrón would coordinate with the Border Patrol. Tony La Guardia would tell the Border Patrol that it was an operation of the MC Department under his supervision. Martínez and Eduardo Díaz Izquierdo would stay on the *Jennifer*, which would circle the island to the west to the port of Mariel. There they would deposit an innocent cargo of ordinary merchandise as a cover for the operation. Once the vessel left and was a few miles out of the port of Mariel, four speedboats from Miami would pick up 500 kilograms of cocaine each.

This clandestine trip by a captain of the Revolutionary Armed Forces to Colombia made using a false passport to meet with Pablo Escobar is one of the most serious, adventurous, and irresponsible deeds committed by Ochoa and the La Guardia group among the many they carried out. If this officer on active duty, an aide to a well-known prestigious officer like Arnaldo Ochoa, had been captured and brought before the international public eye as some sort of envoy of the country or the armed forces to the Medellín cartel, the revolution would have been engulfed by a torrent of slander very difficult to refute.

This officer would undoubtedly have been made to say that this activity had been authorized by the Cuban government. What could be expected from somebody who had gone that far? It has not been possible to determine exactly how he presented himself to Pablo Escobar. Martínez, who provided detailed and quite objective information about what he did, said this never came up in the two-and-a-half-hour conversation with Escobar. He said he spoke generically about "his chiefs," by which Escobar could have been led to believe (as Martínez admits) that "his chiefs" were high-ranking leaders of the Cuban revolution.

The operation with the *Jennifer* agreed on by Martínez and Pablo Escobar was never carried out for reasons that we will explain shortly.

Upon his return to Cuba, Martínez explained to Ochoa, who happened to be in Cuba on a short working visit, and to Tony La Guardia what had been agreed on. They talked in Ochoa's kitchen, where the two said they fully approved of the plan.

Notice of the *Jennifer*'s departure would come in a coded telephone message saying, "The bank transfer will be such and such day." The phone call never came because of  
**Continued on Page 10**



Militant/Jon Hillson

Decorated Cuban veterans of war against South Africa in Angola. *Granma* editorial states activity of Ochoa and La Guardia was a "betrayal of the officers and fighters" of the armed forces, those "honest comrades who have fallen in their self-sacrificing struggle inside and outside Cuba."



# These criminal actions took place 'amid a war on which Cuba gambled everything'

## Fidel Castro reports to Council of State on stakes in Ochoa case

BY MARGARET JAYKO

On July 9 Cuban President Fidel Castro gave a four-hour report to the Council of State meeting in Havana, Cuba. Previously, the Special Military Court, upheld by the People's Supreme Court, had dictated the death sentence for former general Arnaldo Ochoa, former captain Jorge Martínez, former colonel Antonio La Guardia, and former major Amado Padrón.

The four were found guilty of high treason and drug trafficking. A detailed accounting of their crimes is contained in an editorial from the June 22 Cuban daily *Granma*, which is reprinted on the opposite page.

Under the Cuban constitution, the Council of State has the right to decide whether to commute a death sentence or not. According to Castro, special efforts were made so that all 29 members of the Council of State would be present at the July 8-9 meeting for what Castro called its "historic decision."

The Council of State, headed by Castro, is elected by and acts on behalf of Cuba's highest governmental representative body, the National Assembly of People's Power. A prior vote by National Assembly delegates revealed 401 out of 402 in favor of ratification of the death sentence by the Council of State.

Castro's speech was played on television and radio a couple of days after he delivered it. It is slated to appear in the July 23 English-language edition of *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana. An unedited translation of the transcript was run in the U.S. government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service, which the quotes in this article are taken from.

In his speech, Castro focused on "the most important person in this case," Division General Ochoa, who was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, a decorated hero of the revolution, and one of the highest ranking officers in the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR).

### Veteran of July 26 Movement

One of the most important issues raised by these events, the Cuban president explained, was "what the Cuban people may think of our sending thousands, tens of thousands of our soldiers on internationalist missions under the leadership of an irresponsible, uncontrollable chief, under the leadership of a chief capable of any adventure?"

Ochoa was a veteran of the July 26 Movement, which led the 1959 Cuban revolution. He was an internationalist volunteer in Venezuela and led military missions to Ethiopia, where Cuban troops had been decisive in 1977-78 in defending the Ethiopian revolution against an imperialist-backed invasion by Somalia.

He had been the head of the Cuban Military Mission in Nicaragua, where it is now known he stole money from the Sandinista People's Army.

And beginning in November 1987, Ochoa was put in charge of Cuba's military mission in Angola during what Castro judged to be "the biggest internationalist feat Cuba has carried out." He was referring to the role of Cuban volunteer troops, working with the armed forces of the Angolan government as well as fighters from the South West Africa People's Organisation, in crushing large-scale South African incursions into Angola, thereby forcing Pretoria to the bargaining table.

### Individual leaders not the key

It wasn't true, stressed Castro, that the lives of Cuban soldiers on internationalist missions had been simply entrusted to Ochoa, the individual. "It is inconceivable," said Castro, "to delegate to any military chief — regardless of how brilliant and capable he may be — the power to make important strategic or tactical decisions in fulfillment of those missions." Rather, these powers are exercised by the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) and the FAR high command.

The Cuban president then turned his attention to the war in Angola, which formed the crucial backdrop for considering the case of Ochoa and the others.

Their criminal actions took place, said Castro, "amid a war on which our country gambled — we might say — everything."

As the South African onslaught against Angola grew at the end of 1987, the Cuban government decided to reinforce its troops there in order to prevent what was shaping up to be a political and military catastrophe.

Cuba, he said, "sent its best weapons and 50,000 men to that war." This would be comparable, he pointed out, to the U.S. government sending 1.2 million soldiers abroad or the Soviet Union 1.4 million.

Ochoa was chief of the forces in Angola at that time. "He was not the most adequate man for the mission because of his character, lack of sufficient knowledge about the Angolans, and of relations with the Angolans," recalled Castro. So another general was sent to be chief of the Southern Front, where the bulk of the combat would occur.

Castro then read excerpts from some of the more than 100 cables that he had addressed to Ochoa during the course of the fighting.

"I carefully went through the messages because I wanted to assess Ochoa's level of

war in Angola, thereby neglecting many pressing government and party responsibilities.

"It could not have been otherwise," Castro explained. "Even the revolution was at stake there, because if this was a decisive battle against apartheid representing a defeat of large proportions, it was also a battle for the revolution, which could have meant a huge defeat for the revolution no matter how noble, just, or altruistic our cause. I think even the revolution was at stake in that battle. We did not even attend to government affairs; at least I did not attend to them. . . .

"At the same time that we were inscribing the most glorious page in our history, the most shameful page of our history was being written precisely by the chief of the military mission in that country," emphasized Castro.

### Ochoa's justification

Ochoa had sought to justify black market deals he carried out in Angola with the claim



Militant/Terry Coggan

Havana, January 1988. Lunchroom for minibrigade working on apartment building. Castro contrasted capitalist-minded "gentlemen" with Cuba's working people, who are advancing Cuba's development through their volunteer labor.

corruption — which we now know about — and his moral degeneration," said Castro. When he went to Angola, Ochoa already "had drug trafficking in mind," asserted Castro. This, he said, "had already exerted an influence on Ochoa's behavior."

### 'Too lazy to write reports'

"It was known that Ochoa did not like to write reports during his missions. He was too lazy to write reports — that is the truth," Castro began.

Castro documents Ochoa's consistently wrong predictions that the South African forces had withdrawn. Based on this, Ochoa continually proposed moves that would lead to weakening the defense of Cuito Cuanavale — the focal point of the decisive battle with South Africa — all of which were rejected by the leadership in Havana.

Ochoa was called back to Cuba at the end of January 1988 to discuss the situation in Cuito Cuanavale, which the Cuban soldiers had now been given responsibility for defending by the Angolan authorities. Ochoa was instructed to proceed immediately to readjust the front lines of the battle to make Cuito more defensible. But he stalled, not seeing the critical nature of that moment in the war.

When the South Africans indeed launched a big offensive on February 14, 14 Cubans were killed, though the forces of the apartheid regime were stopped.

Castro cabled Ochoa afterwards: "Following the errors that have been committed and the time that has been wasted in making adjustments for the defense of Cuito, it is now necessary to have a cool head."

"One consistent attitude of yours has been to underestimate possible enemy actions. . . . I will not hide from you the fact that here we are bitter over what happened, because it had been foreseen and words of caution were issued on several occasions."

### 'Cuban revolution was at stake there'

To underline the gravity of Ochoa's misconduct, Castro stressed repeatedly that top government leaders in Cuba devoted virtually all their time for several months to the

that he was doing these things to help his troops. Pointing out how ridiculous this claim was, Castro described the detailed care taken by the high command to make sure the Cuban soldiers in Angola had everything they needed, from comfortable mattresses to candy and cookies.

Castro pointed out in his address to the Council of State that one of the most serious actions carried out by Ochoa was "to have sent a Cuban armed forces officer to Colombia [to talk to drug traffickers] with a false passport and placed him in enemy hands. This occurred when we were on the verge of decisive battles in Angola. We were risking everything over there; we were risking the revolution."

The other most serious action carried out by Ochoa, said Castro, was joining the drug-trafficking "mafia" that had been formed in the Interior Ministry's department in charge of circumventing the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. Having such a high-ranking officer cooperate with their operations, said Castro, emboldened them to carry out even more drug runs.

### Ochoa refuses to cooperate

Ochoa had three chances "to save himself" from the death penalty, said Castro. In two discussions with Armed Forces Minister Raúl Castro and again at the time he was arrested, he could have confessed. "If we had not had to discover what they had done, we could have the option of sparing his life and giving him the harshest possible sentence save for capital punishment," said the Cuban president.

But Ochoa refused to cooperate. The honor tribunal of 47 ranking military officers, which judged Ochoa initially, "had two days, one of them very sad — this was the day when many people testified — and one day of glory. This latter day was when the members of the honor tribunal spoke with great eloquence and force, as well as with great pain, but firmness."

The Military Court of Honor had asked the Council of State to withdraw Ochoa's title as Hero of the Republic of Cuba and other medals and awards; divest him of his rank of

division general and dishonorably expel him from the FAR; place him at the disposal of the Special Military Court to be tried for high treason, urging "that the full weight of the law fall on him;" and recommend to the political organizations and National Assembly his expulsion from the party and his seat in the National Assembly. All those proposals were approved.

Castro discussed further why capital punishment was the only alternative. "Who would be able to believe in the revolution? Who would be able to believe in the seriousness of the revolution if, for such serious faults, the most severe penalties established by the nation's laws are not applied?"

Ochoa and the other three were guilty of treason, said Castro. "Treason is to sell your country, and they sold the country. Treason is to put the nation in jeopardy, and they placed the nation in serious jeopardy. Treason is to undermine the nation's morals and the revolution's prestige. They have been doing things that undermine the revolution's morals and prestige. They weaken it in every sense."

He added, "How can we guarantee discipline in our armed forces and in the Ministry of the Interior if the chief of an army, the chief of tens of thousands of men in battle, in war, takes the luxury of devoting a single second of the time dedicated to his duties to these activities?" asked Castro.

"We can say that with his insolence, Ochoa put himself above the laws because he was a hero, a general, and a member of the PCC Central Committee. It would be an ill-fated and demoralizing precedent if we do not apply the most severe penalties," continued Castro.

### Interior Ministry mafia

Castro also addressed the significance of the drug-running operation organized in the Interior Ministry.

"If we do not punish the two main people from the Ministry of the Interior, how could we rebuild the Ministry of the Interior? How could we regain that institution's prestige, a prestige that has been seriously damaged by these events? How could we someday hope to have discipline in an institution that is so fundamental for the nation, a nation in revolution, for a nation that is 90 miles away from the United States?"

Castro continued, "You could almost say that they have morally destroyed the Ministry of the Interior. The Ministry of the Interior must be reconstructed. It has to be rebuilt."

But the accused are not the only ones to blame for this, Castro explained. That ministry's leadership has some guilt because while "everyone knew" these men were "potentates," the leadership allowed such a situation to continue.

Everyone knew, said Castro, "they spent and flaunted money and that they lived differently than everyone else." The ministry had been admonished previously, he said, to do away with the special clinics, restaurants, and recreation areas that it had built exclusively for Interior Ministry members.

"These measures were taken," Castro explained, "to make certain that the Ministry of the Interior did not separate itself from the people. The times I spoke about this were not few."

Through giving away imported gifts — from color TVs to yachts — "they created a system of relationships, of friendships that corrupted and, in my opinion, created a neutralizing effect that has caused terrible damage to the Ministry of the Interior."

### 'Rectification can now advance'

Near the end of his speech, Castro turned his attention to what the Ochoa affair means for the "rectification process" in Cuba. This process, begun in 1986, is a fundamental communist political reorientation initiated by the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba in response to evidence of a growing political demobilization and demoralization among Cuba's working people.

These dangerous trends were registered by increasing instances of bureaucratic mismanagement, indifference, abuse, declining productivity and work morale, the growth of corruption and fraud, and frustration over

Continued on Page 11



# 'Granma' editorial presents drug case against Ochoa and La Guardia

Continued from Page 8

a coincidence that occurred in the period between the meeting and the departure of the ship: the captain of the *Jennipher* was murdered. Martínez was told when he traveled abroad in August to meet with Escobar's envoys to find out what happened.

## Tobacco sale as cover

They then suggested to him that the operation be done by air. He replied that he would consult. Back in Cuba he consulted with Tony La Guardia who accepted and said the sale of tobacco should be used as the cover.

In September Martínez went abroad again and met with Fabel and two pilots to discuss the air route. In October he made a second trip to Colombia for talks with one of Escobar's brothers about the new plans.

Everything was coordinated. A Cheyenne plane would leave Colombia at 19:00 hours, flying through the Caribbean. It would fly over Cuban territory using the Maya airway and then southwest of Cayo Sal where it would drop the drugs in conveniently packaged waterproof bales in waters near Cuba,

“**Ochoa and La Guardia have attacked Cuba's integrity and international prestige...**”

returning to Colombia via the same route. There was some haggling about prices if the goods didn't fall in Cuban waters. They also considered the possibility of having the plane carry less fuel to allow for more of the product and then it could land in Varadero for refueling since it would be empty. The drugs would be picked up by speedboats from Miami, and the price for Cuba's cooperation would be \$1,000 per kilogram. The plans were for one operation a week.

Martínez briefed Ochoa by telephone Cuba-Luanda in more or less figurative language, and he agreed.

But again there were problems. A boat was captured in eastern Cuba by the Border Patrol. In late October a meeting was held abroad attended by Martínez and Joel with Escobar's envoys. The latter said the vessel captured by the Border Patrol had been coordinated with Eduardo from Tony La Guardia's group. Joel denied it.

## Drop captured

There was another dispute in November when Fernando, an Escobar representative mentioned above, met with Martínez. The former said the operation had failed because

they had dropped 500 kilograms in the afternoon within view of the Las Américas Restaurant and the drop had been captured by the Border Patrol. Martínez replied that he had nothing to do with that operation. However, Fernando said that Escobar wanted Martínez to know that he would send a man to Cuba to complain to the authorities and demand that the merchandise be returned.

The threat to send a man to Cuba shows that Escobar supposed Martínez' activities were authorized by top government echelons.

These events show that while Martínez was going back and forth, other things were probably happening. In December 1988 Ochoa, who was about to return from Angola, was briefed about all this by Martínez. Frustrated by all the failures, he told Martínez that he did not plan to continue working with Tony La Guardia in these activities, and he called Tony's men "dumb and incapable." He added that any new plan would be organized by him personally. He told Martínez to maintain contact with the drug dealers.

Martínez went abroad again Feb. 10-20, 1989. When he returned, Ochoa told him that, given his new post as Ochoa's aide in the Western Army in the near future, it wouldn't be so easy for him to travel abroad, and so he should think about passing on his contacts to somebody he trusted, preferably a foreigner. Nevertheless, from March 25 to April 5, Martínez was in Panama to see to other matters for Ochoa.

Despite Ochoa's feelings of frustration with regard to Tony La Guardia, on April 20 Martínez met in Cuba with Willy, from Tony's group, who reported that he knew two Mexicans willing to negotiate up to 2,000 kilograms of cocaine a month. Ochoa was again tempted and told Martínez to contact Fernando on his next trip abroad. Ochoa and Tony La Guardia would split the profits 50-50.

Martínez' last trip abroad took place on April 28. He was the bearer, among other instructions, of two essential tasks: to contact Fernando and raise with him the deal with the Mexicans about the 2,000 kilograms of coca per month and to tell Escobar's people about the possibility of using the Girón airway for the flights, which would be guaranteed, and pay for it.

Martínez contacted the Colombians and explained his assignment. They replied they would inform their boss.

Ochoa's last proposal to the drug traffickers seemed more like a fraud since he had no control over the Girón airway, unless he planned to look for accomplices among the people responsible for that area.

## Projects unsuccessful

In fact, Ochoa and Martínez, despite the former's obsessive persistence and the

latter's feverish activity, didn't succeed in any of their projects. Ochoa didn't have a team. Only one of his collaborators inside the MINFAR was in on the secret; he was wholly dependent on Tony La Guardia's group where, rather than sincere collaborators, he had rivals.

When Ochoa agreed on his first operation with the drug traffickers through Martínez in mid-1988, Tony La Guardia and his group had successfully carried out their first drug trafficking deal approximately 18 months before.

Obviously, Ochoa and Tony La Guardia had decided, almost simultaneously in 1986, each in an independent manner, to engage in this type of activity. It was only in mid-1988, at the April meeting held in Havana mentioned above, that the bonds between the two projects became close. But Tony and his group kept Ochoa and Martínez quite in the dark about their operations, although it is obvious that Ochoa learned during 1988 — and in some regards because Tony La Guardia himself told him — that Tony had already been operating with the drug traffickers.

## Department MC

Like his brother Patricio, Tony La Guardia had been connected with the Ministry of the Interior since the early years of the revolution. He carried out different assignments and rendered services, some of them rather important. In 1982 he was appointed head of Department Z, which was later called MC, in the Ministry of the Interior.

What was the basic function of this department? A task related to the country's struggle against the U.S. economic blockade: buying and bringing to Cuba products like medical and laboratory equipment, medicines and health materials, computers and other equip-

“**Traffickers will know once and for all they can never count on Cuba for trafficking...**”

ment, parts, components and accessories for U.S.-made equipment, anything that could be useful to our country — absolutely just and moral activities to counter the criminal U.S. blockade. To carry out these tasks the MC Department had connections with U.S. citizens and people residing in the United States who had access to boats or planes to carry the products to Cuba. The MC Department was authorized to conduct trade operations with these people, and quite a number of needs were met in that way. But they were under obligation to work according to strict norms that rigorously prohibited any ties with people who were connected with drugs in one way or another.

The MC Department was empowered to coordinate its activities with the Border Patrol and the aeronautical authorities. Everybody cooperated with them gladly. It was precisely thanks to these powers and facilities that Tony La Guardia and a group of operational officials close to him were able to deceive the staff of other MININT departments and channel their cooperation with drug traffickers, allowing themselves to be dragged into that corrupting plague that has infected the continent and that our country had managed to escape until that time.

As far as the investigations can confirm, Tony La Guardia's first contact with drug traffickers came about through an MC Department official in Panama, Miguel Ruiz, whose cousin, Reynaldo Ruiz — of Cuban origin, residing abroad and married to a Colombian — mentioned to him the possibility of making a drug deal in Cuba. Miguel Ruiz and Amado Padrón met with Reynaldo Ruiz, and the latter said he could have access to some boat owners in Miami and a plane in Colombia to carry a certain amount of cocaine into the United States through Cuba using the plane and the boats. They were prepared to pay \$800 per kilogram. After learning about this, Tony La Guardia decided that Reynaldo Ruiz should travel to Cuba on a private plane with his son, who was a pilot,

in order to negotiate with him in our country. The trip took place in January 1987. The deal was made. The plane would bring the drugs from Colombia to Varadero packed in IBM computer boxes. The boats coming from Miami to buy tobacco would carry back the drugs repacked in cigar boxes.

## Varadero

The operation was carried out in April. The plane brought the drugs to Varadero as agreed. The sea was rough those days. The boats were delayed, and the drugs stayed in Varadero for 20 to 30 days. They were finally taken to Miami. The amount was 400 kilograms. Tony La Guardia and his group got \$320,000 for this operation. But earlier, while waiting for it to come off, an operation involving marijuana was carried out. The tactic used was having La Guardia people intercept the boat while it was sailing off the north coast of Pinar del Río, take it to Cádiz Bay, north of Matanzas Province, and hide it until the marijuana was taken aboard speedboats coming from Miami.

This happened early in 1987. Those involved do not always remember all the dates exactly. The unusual adventure had begun.

In May another plane landed in Varadero loaded with about 400 kilograms of cocaine. A boat took it to Miami. Tony's group got \$320,000.

During the fourth quarter of 1987 two operations were carried out, each involving 500 kilograms of cocaine. The procedure was identical: the drugs were flown to Varadero and taken to Miami by cabin cruiser or speedboat.

In that year one of the planned operations wasn't carried out. The boat arrived but not the plane. The balance: five successful operations, one failure.

In the course of 1988 two successful operations were carried out, the first one early in the year. The usual tactic was used: the plane landed in Varadero, the drug was taken away by sea. The second was in June: a marijuana operation. This one simply consisted of supplying fuel in the south of the island to the boat carrying the drugs to send it on its way.

Three additional cocaine operations organized that year failed for different reasons. The drugs were lost in two of these. The balance was two successful operations and three abortive ones.

## 'Bombing' the merchandise

The operations took on a new pace in 1989. The technique changed, and they became more sophisticated, as has already been suggested. The cocaine was perfectly packed in waterproof boxes with phosphorescent markings on each and was dropped by plane in the sea inside Cuban jurisdictional waters north of Varadero. This is called "bombing" the merchandise. The spot is exact. Speedboats can locate it perfectly. Whenever problems arise due to the boats' loading capacity or there is some risk of being captured by U.S. Coast Guard vessels, the drugs are buried on some cay or submerged just below the surface of the sea — "nailed," in the carriers' lingo.

The La Guardia group cooperated with communications, lodged the crews, refueled the boats, and all under the cover of MC Department normal activities.

The first operation in 1988 took place in February; the second, in March; the third, also in March; the fourth, fifth, and sixth, in the first 20 days in April; the seventh, on April 22; and the eighth, on April 23. They were all successful operations.

As far as we have been able to confirm, from January 1987 to the second half of April 1989, Tony La Guardia's group organized 19 operations — four failed, and 15 succeeded.

## 'Sheer stupidity'

It is very important to point out that when Ochoa, Martínez, and the La Guardia brothers were arrested on Monday, June 12, no information whatsoever existed about their activities related to drug trafficking. The investigations were directed to illegal events and business, corruption, immoral acts, and other wrongdoings and irregularities committed by Ochoa, with Patricio and Antonio

FROM PATHFINDER

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La Guardia seemingly closely connected with them. The first clues appeared a few hours after their arrest, when documents were found in Martínez' home, particularly a letter that aroused serious suspicions and that he said he had kept out of "sheer stupidity."

However, an investigation had been started before that. Several rumors reached the country from friends of Cuba about statements made by drug traffickers claiming they had the cooperation of Cuban officials. There was even talk of complaints due to merchandise being lost. Added to this were growing charges made from the United States about drug trafficking operations through Varadero and the nearby jurisdictional waters that even mentioned air drops of packages containing drugs. Although it is usual in the United States for all sorts of lies against the revolution to be accepted, the coincidence in time of these assertions over the past few months aroused the attention of the first secretary of our party. It was possible to think that drug traffickers were using the waters close to Cuba to drop drugs for boats to pick up without cooperation from anyone. Nor could the eventuality be discarded that some people in Cuba were trying to fool the drug traffickers by introducing themselves as influential enough to cooperate with them.

#### MININT investigation

Regardless of these possible explanations, in the second half of April this year Commander in Chief Fidel Castro asked the Ministry of the Interior for a careful investigation to find out whether any Cuban official was involved in drug trafficking activities. As soon as the ministry took the first steps in this connection and especially after Cuban counterintelligence, using technical means, began its inquiries as to what might be happening in Varadero regarding flights and boat trips, it now seems clear that the La Guardia group called off its operations, began to dismantle its setup, cover up all clues, and protect itself from the inquiries. The arrest of Ochoa and Patricio and Tony La Guardia on Monday, June 12, precipitated the events.

One peculiarity in the behavior of Tony La Guardia and his group is that, aware of the extremely serious nature of the events, they kept absolutely quiet about their activities. To very few people, among them Ochoa, of course, did they tell anything about what they were doing. Their operations in 1987 and 1988 were spaced out enough to keep from raising any suspicions. It was only in the month of April 1989 that they speeded up the operations in a reckless and risky manner. It is not clear yet what caused this change. They themselves figure that they helped move a total of about six tons of cocaine, for which they received approximately \$3.4 million, without having been able to collect all their services to the drug traffickers. Some payments were pending, partly because the operations were called off and the main guilty parties arrested.

#### Hundreds of thousands of dollars

Naturally, right from the start they claimed their purpose was to help the country, although it is clear to anyone that you don't help the country by sticking a knife in its back. They said they had turned over those funds to the state as part of authorized commercial transactions. But the cynicism of such pretexts was soon exposed when hundreds of thousands of dollars began to turn up in well-hidden bags, hideouts, and the homes of close friends and relatives. Obviously, they were stocking up large amounts of money, almost all of it in foreign currency.

Eduardo Díaz Izquierdo, one of Tony La Guardia's closest collaborators, was found to have stashed away in Santa María \$159,090; in the Guiteras district, under a cement slab, \$108,000; in Santos Suárez, \$26,600; in the California district, in San Miguel del Padrón, stuffed in an icebox, \$166,020. All together he had \$459,710 plus 100,620 Cuban pesos.

Antonio Sánchez Lima was found to have \$262,911.

Tony La Guardia, \$174,446 and 203 pesos. Amado Padrón, \$46,000 and 14,586 pesos. Gabriel Prendes Gómez, \$35,150 and 113,160 pesos.

Miguel Ramón Ruiz Poo, \$21,120 and



Gianfranco Gorgoni, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder  
Armed Forces Minister Raúl Castro (left) with Cuba's President Fidel Castro.

55,705 pesos.

We have only mentioned the largest amounts found.

Moreover, on April 28 of this year, Tony La Guardia delivered to Ochoa \$50,000 from the drug trafficking funds that Ochoa sent with Martínez to Panama, where the latter put them in a sealed envelope and then gave them to a Cuban official there for safekeeping in a strong box. This official, who acted in good faith, reported it as soon as he learned of Martínez' arrest. This money was also confiscated and brought to Cuba.

So far a total of \$1,065,789 and 287,589 pesos have been confiscated, \$1,353,378 all together. The search and investigation as to the whereabouts of the rest of the money received from drug trafficking continues.

We will determine what humanitarian use to put this money to.

Apart from the drug trafficking proceeds, it was confirmed that Ochoa has \$200,000 from other sources deposited in Martínez' name in a bank in Panama. When he was arrested, an additional \$25,800 dollars were found in his home.

Apart from their serious infringement of inviolable ethical and political principles, it is repugnant how Ochoa, Tony La Guardia and his group, like two-bit thieves of the international drug trade, were selling the republic for a bit of pottage.

There are plenty of details and elements that supplement everything that has been said here. A considerable effort at summarizing was required to avoid making this editorial exceedingly long.

Only a revolutionary country like Cuba is capable of tackling this problem so clearly and courageously. Drug trafficking has become a cancer for other Latin American peo-

ples. There are states whose economy has become heavily dependent on drug trafficking income. U.S. society has shown it is incapable of instituting effective measures to combat domestic drug consumption and trafficking, and its measures vis-à-vis drug producing countries are solely of a repressive nature. There is no way to make the leaders of that country understand that Latin America's dreadful economic and social situation has forced millions of people to grow and produce drugs. Obviously, the absence of laws and appropriate measures inside the United States, the foreign debt, the economic crisis and the growing poverty of hundreds of millions of people in Latin America and the Caribbean render impotent the efforts of the United States and Latin America to win the drug battle, which involves hundreds of billions of dollars every year.

Cuba is one of the few countries in our hemisphere free of drug production. Drug consumption in our country is practically nonexistent. For the first time we have become really affected by the drug trade; for the first time Cuban officials have appeared involved in it in spite of the strength of our revolutionary process, the solidness of our socialist state, and the purity of our society.

For a long time we flawlessly fulfilled our international duties in this field. Dozens of boats and aircraft and hundreds of drug traffickers have been captured and punished for their activities, not aimed at our country but who accidentally landed or entered our jurisdictional waters and coasts.

Although we are poor and have difficulties, our economy has never depended on or needed income originating from drugs.

The behavior of Ochoa and the La Guardia brothers, as well as that of their closest collaborators show the extent to which consumer

society and its trinkets can dazzle and influence certain people, the extent to which we need to increase our vigilance and revolutionary awareness and be more demanding.

International drug trafficking has dealt us a heavy blow. We can't even say that most of the blame lies with the big drug traffickers, for it was practically our own people who went after them and easily accepted their first offers. But we will uproot this evil. We are the only ones in this hemisphere who can do it, and it won't even be a difficult task.

Our citizens, our Border Patrol, our MINFAR and MININT fighters, our party cadres will be much more on the alert from now on. After this bitter experience it will be very difficult for groups like that of Tony La Guardia and behavior like that of Ochoa and Martínez to emerge again inside the state.

Traffickers will now know once and for all that they can never count on Cuba for drug trafficking. If our airspace and our waters are not respected, we will be forced to adopt drastic measures, however hard it may be to shoot down a plane that refuses to obey an order to land. If even more severe laws become necessary, we will enact them.

We are justifiably outraged over this offense to our national honor and dignity, the purity and principles of our revolution.

#### Cuba's international prestige

Ochoa and Tony La Guardia and his group have attacked Cuba's integrity and international prestige, the fundamental force with which we defend ourselves against imperialist aggression and with which our people make their voice heard everywhere on earth. They have endangered not only the prestige but even the security of our nation. In today's world, a small nation without prestige and without integrity is a defenseless nation. Stealing the honor of a heroic people is like stealing their strength. Harming their trust is like harming their fighting morale.

What they have done is a betrayal of the officers and fighters of our heroic Revolutionary Armed Forces and the fighters of the Ministry of the Interior who have written so many glorious pages in defending the revolution; a betrayal of the honest comrades who have fallen in their self-sacrificing struggle inside and outside Cuba; an outrage regarding our principles and a slap in the face of the country.

If many people are shocked by events like this, it is because we are, no doubt, an inseparable part of one of the cleanest political processes in history, and it will continue to be clean because we will take exemplary measures to eradicate outrages such as this.

Granma is not only expressing its editorial opinion but also that of the Central Committee of the party, the commander in chief, the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and the Ministry of the Interior.

## Castro reports to Council of State

#### Continued from Page 9

attempts to deal with such problems piecemeal.

To counter this the Communist Party has led a conscious effort to incorporate a new and younger leadership on all levels and in all organizations and institutions; and relaunched the minibrigade movement, which uses voluntary labor of politically conscious and motivated men and women to deal with such burning social problems as construction of housing and day-care centers.

Castro stressed that if the top ringleaders from the FAR and Interior Ministry weren't severely punished for their crimes, "How could we speak of rectification? Who would speak of rectification again if the most incredible joke played on the principles of the process of rectification are not punished?"

"Like someone here said, when we were in the middle of that battle, the battle of rectification, the most atrocious things are done. . . . What future could the process of rectification have if a simple prison sentence is issued? Would it be enough to constitute an example? Would it be enough to save and preserve the values we are protecting?"

But, Castro affirmed, the Cuban people will "recuperate the prestige and credibility" of the revolution that was so badly damaged by these treasonous acts, and make it still stronger.

"We will turn this setback into a victory," he said. "This will depend on the attitude the nation takes, as well as on the measures taken. It will not just depend on the sanctions, it will also depend on what happens after the sanctions. Here I am referring to all of those who may be potential followers of this conduct."

"No, I do not believe that the process of rectification is going to lose; it is going to win. As Raúl [Castro] said; he said a peasant said that the rectification process can now advance 10 years. I think rectification will now be understood more. The PCC is now going to have more force to demand and impose rules. It will also have more force to sweep away with everything that smells rotten."

#### Working class vs. the 'gentlemen'

It was just when the rectification process was making headway, said Castro, "we had to put it all aside to dedicate ourselves to these gentlemen, these rich little boys, who lived the sweet life."

Unlike these "little boys," said Castro, Cuba's workers were carrying out a miracle of development in Cuba. "What does the life of the gentlemen have to do with our working class? The habits of these gentlemen and the habits of our workers are two different worlds. We cannot rest until we have one single world — and not the world of the bourgeois, and the petty bourgeois, but the world of the working class, our workers, our farmers."

The toilers of Cuba, stressed Castro, "do not go around thinking about shoddy goods, a few cents, and luxuries." Rather, they work 14, 15, 16 hours a day, voluntarily, to confront Cuba's underdevelopment.

These are times, Castro said, when "socialism is being questioned, and in which they want to send it to the trash heap of history. Our country and process are a model not only of honesty, seriousness, and truthfulness, but it also tries to follow its own path, its own way of building socialism, while being aware that we are 90 miles away from the empire. With more pride, trust, and certainty than ever we fly the flag of socialism. They were threatening us with a terrible stain. They were threatening to drown us in mud and discredit."



## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Defending Abortion Rights.** Speaker: Ellen Convisser, president Boston chapter of National Organization for Women; Margo Storsteen, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Wed., Aug. 2, 7 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**The Fight of Family Farmers in New Zealand.** Speaker: Denis Hiestand, dairy farmer, leader of Federated Farmers of New Zealand. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### Kansas City

**Defend Affirmative Action.** A panel discussion. Sun., July 30, 7 p.m. 5534 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 444-7880.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Picnic Popular.** Annual fund-raising picnic for Ventana — Cultural Workers in Solidarity with Nicaragua. Sun., Aug. 13. Donation: \$10. For more information and directions to picnic site call (212) 316-9153.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Independence.** Speakers: Loida Martinez, longtime activist in Puerto Rican independence movement; Ron Richards, *Militant* supporter in Puerto Rico. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**Namibia Freedom Fight Deepens.** Speaker: Janet Fisher, Revolutionary Workers League. Video showing of *Namibia: Independence Now*. Sat., Aug. 12, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

## National Steel

### Continued from back page

ranks, which would make it impossible to win a strike. These workers also reluctantly voted to accept the pact.

A small layer of workers continued to advocate a no vote, arguing that rejection would not mean a strike but would force National Steel back to the table for further negotiations.

These workers thought the company also wanted to avoid a strike at this time, when it has orders to fill and before a downturn in the economy sets in. The company always says it can't afford more, they pointed out. It was possible to win a better contract if the ranks stepped in and refused to accept this proposal, they argued.

*Peter Brandli works in the Cold Strip Department at the Granite City Division of National Steel. He is a member of USWA Local 67.*

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# Celebrate 30 Years of the Cuban Revolution

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**30 Years of the Cuban Revolution and 20 Years of the Venceremos Brigade.** Talks on the history of Cuba, the brigade, and the current state of the U.S. government's disinformation campaign against Cuba. Dance following program. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 2616 Hobart Ave. (at Adams).

### San Francisco

**Reports from 1989 20th Anniversary Venceremos Brigade.** Slideshow presentations, Afro-Cuban music, dancing, food, poetry readings. Sun., July 30, 4-9 p.m. Women's Building, 3543 18th St. Donation requested. Sponsors: Venceremos Brigade and Committee to Celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. For more information call (415) 530-0264.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

Speakers: Morgan Stanford, attorney, recently participated in tour of Cuba; Rosalinda Ramirez, Southeast Center for Justice; Sifiso Makhathini, representative African National Congress of South Africa; Miesa Patterson, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

Speakers: Ed Hasse, participated in 20th anniversary Venceremos Brigade tour to Cuba; others. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Thoreau Center, 3500 Kingman Ave. Donation: \$3. For more information call (515) 255-9595.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Film showing of Saul Landau's *The Uncompromising Revolution*.** Sun., July 30, 7 p.m.

Arellano Theatre (Levering Hall), John Hopkins University. Donation: \$3. Sponsors: Pat Birnie, Howard County Peace Action Community; Central American Solidarity Committee (CASC); John Monahan, President Progressive Student Union (PSN); others. For more information call (301) 467-6132.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Cambridge

**30 Years of the Cuban Revolution: A Cuban-American Perspective.** Speaker: Andrés Gómez, editor of *Areito* magazine and one of founders of Antonio Maceo Brigade. Party with slideshow, videos, and photo exhibits will follow. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Ave. Sponsor: José Martí Project.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

A panel of speakers will discuss history and achievements of revolution under leadership of the Cuban Communist Party. Sat., July 29. Cuban banquet 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Donation: \$5; \$2 program only. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 361-0250.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Cuba Today: A Report by Recent Visitors.** Panel of participants in recently returned 20th anniversary Venceremos Brigade tour of Cuba. Sun., July 30, 5 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

Speakers and greetings from Cuba, El Salvador, Panama, African National Congress of South Africa, South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia; others. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Casa de las Américas, 104 W 14 St. Sponsors: Venceremos Brigade, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Casa de las Américas. For more information call (212) 769-4293.

## OHIO

### Cleveland

Speakers: Joy Hintz, peace activist, and Marty Pettit, Socialist Workers Party, both recently

traveled to Cuba. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

## OREGON

### Portland

Speakers: Karen Wald, journalist living in Cuba since 1982, author of *Children of Che*; Sierra Thai Binh, Wald's 16-year-old daughter, student in Havana since 1982. Pot luck dinner, Cuban music and dance. Sun., July 30, 5:30 p.m. Dalke Manor Community Room, 915 NE Schuyler. Donation: \$5, \$3 for program only. Sponsors: Portland Central America Solidarity Committee, Center for Cuban Studies, Portland Venceremos Brigade, PSU Women's Studies.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

Speakers: Representatives of the Venceremos Brigade; others. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. Christian Association, 36th and Locust Walk. Donation requested. Sponsor: Venceremos Brigade; others.

## TEXAS

### Houston

Speakers: Stephen Gittens, Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement; Sebletso Matabane, co-coordinator, Texas Coalition Against Apartheid, participant in 1989 Venceremos Brigade to Cuba; Gilberto Rivera, coordinator, CAMILA (Chicanos Against Military Intervention in Latin America); Greg Rosenberg, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., July 29, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

Speaker: Karen Wald, author of *Children of Che*, journalist living in Cuba since 1982. Mon., July 31, 7 p.m. Elliott Bay Bookstore Co., 1st Ave. S and Main. Also, Tue., Aug. 1, 7 p.m. Blackbird Books, 3130 E Madison. Sponsor: Venceremos Brigade. For more information call (206) 325-9548.

# AIDS spreads among crack users in New York

**NEW YORK** — AIDS is spreading among people who smoke crack, according to the New York City Department of Health. Crack is a highly addictive form of cocaine.

The department reports that an increasing number of crack users who seek treatment for genital ulcers caused by venereal diseases also find that they are infected with the HIV virus that causes AIDS.

This increase in AIDS cases disproportionately affects the most impoverished sections of society, particularly Black and Hispanic communities, where crack use is prevalent and venereal diseases are on the rise.

Evidence points to a combination of fac-

tors for the spread of AIDS in this section of the population. Crack itself is not responsible for HIV infection.

While crack is relatively cheap, the addictive nature of it is spurring a rise of prostitution among users — for money to buy crack or in exchange for the drug itself. This has led to a rising rate of venereal diseases, particularly syphilis and gonorrhea. The genital sores caused by these diseases provide the semen-to-blood or blood-to-blood exchange required for the HIV virus to spread. And indications are that sex with infected intravenous drug users is the major source of infection for crack addicts.

The combination of these factors for the first time gives AIDS a major link with

women, particularly Black women.

More than 85 percent of the women with AIDS in New York are Hispanic or Black — as are more than 90 percent of the children.

In parts of the Bronx and Brooklyn — where the overlap of crack addiction, dire poverty, and a layer of intravenous drug users exists — the figure for women with AIDS is disproportionately higher. While in Manhattan 8 percent of the AIDS cases are female, in the Bronx and Brooklyn the figures are 27 percent and 24 percent.

The National Medical Association, an organization of Black physicians, reported national statistics showing that among women with AIDS, 52 percent are Black. Of children with AIDS, 76 percent are Black.

## BRITAIN

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## CANADA

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**Vancouver:** P.O. Box 69742, Station K, V5K 4Y7. Tel: (604) 873-8898.

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**Christchurch:** 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

**Wellington:** 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

## SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** P.O. Box 5024, S-12505 Älvsjö. Tel: (08) 722-9342.



**Class experience** — Until she fired him in one of her piques, Grigory Zaychick was a butler to Leona Helmsley, the hotel "queen" now on trial as a tax swindler. A Soviet



Harry Ring

émigré, Zaychick says, "In Russia we shot our last queen. I never really understood how this can happen until I met Mrs. Helmsley."

Maybe he's not as dumb as he

**looks** — "Most people in America support the right of a woman to have an abortion." — Vice-president Quayle.

**Pious folk** — A gang of armed Israeli "hikers" shot and killed a youth in a West Bank village and then continued their outing. Later, by prearrangement, a member of the Israeli Knesset met them, bringing wine and cake to celebrate the Sabbath.

**How considerate can you get** — The New York Telephone Co. claims that when a rate-hike moratorium ends in 1991, it's due a \$900 million increase. However, to ease the pain for customers, it suggests that it be granted \$350 million of

the increase next year.

**Backward march!** — In feudal days, armored knights extracted highway tolls for landlords. Now, to relieve the congestion on British highways, the Thatcher government is proposing a system of privately owned and operated toll roads.

**Could be profitable** — We are unable to confirm the rumor that the Thatcher government is planning to privatize the British Army.

**Deliberate speed** — "The Environmental Protection Agency this week banned all remaining uses of asbestos, 10 years after first proposing a ban and 17 years after identifying the mineral as a cancer-

causing air pollutant. The ban will be phased in over seven years." — Greensboro, North Carolina, *News & Record*.

**He needed an ambulance?** — Big Apple Mayor Koch denied he called the Emergency Medical Service to complain about an EMS technician who gave him the Bronx cheer during a Harlem Hospital campaign pitch.

**Increase the dose?** — The British government will limit the alcohol in baby's gripe water to .8 percent. Used to relieve colic, some brands now contain 5 percent. Last year, at least 50 cases were reported of babies getting inebriated on it. Relative to an infant's weight, a

recommended daily dose approximates four gin and tonics.

**Fulfillment** — Various luxury items are available for guilt-stricken parents who want to pamper their children. Like, a Waterford crystal baby bottle, \$72.50. Be sure to impress the tot by leaving the price tag on.

**Thought for the week** — "If someone . . . offers you \$300,000, I don't think you have to impoverish yourself to prove you're a saint." — House Republican whip Newt Gingrich, defending ex-interior chief James Watt, who pocketed that amount for knowing the head of the federal housing agency.

## 10 years of the Nicaraguan revolution celebrated

Continued from front page

February 1990 presidential election, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega chose the occasion of the rally to give the first major campaign speech of the race.

"UNO is nothing," were his opening words to the massive crowd of Managuans. UNO, the United National Opposition, is a coalition of opposition parties that has announced its intention to run against the FSLN in 1990.

"UNO is nothing, although it has sold its soul to the imperialists," the president continued. "Gathered here are thousands of us representing millions. The people are here. The people's power is here. The Sandinista power is here."

Framing his speech in the context of the vote Nicaraguans will cast next February, Ortega stated that there have been "10 years of no to the past." And there have been "10 years of voting no to the 158 years of neocolonialist, imperialist domination, 10 years of no to the past." And there have been "10 years of voting yes to eradicating epidemics such as polio, to guaranteeing a glass of milk for the children. Ten years of voting yes for the land to be in the hands of the peasants, the cooperatives, the patriotic producers, and the state."

The FSLN leader described the accomplishments as a "miracle" made possible "because God is where the people are." The people of Nicaragua, he said, have defended the revolution "with the slingshot of David from the fury of Goliath."

"We could spend the whole day listing the achievements of the revolution, but we aren't interested in persuading anyone. The people are persuaded," Ortega added. "The fact that some people don't believe in Nicaragua doesn't worry us, because UNO is nothing."

"The revolution is the possessor of truth. It is the possessor of justice. History is on its side. So the revolution is irreversible despite the existence of voices opposed to the revolutionary process."

Responding to assertions by the opposition

that Nicaragua is worse off economically today than it was under the Somoza dictatorship, Ortega admitted that in 1977, under the dictatorship, per capita income reached \$1,384, whereas in 1988 the per capita was only \$756.

"But what must be kept in mind," he said, "is that now this per capita is being distributed among the entire Nicaraguan population. The entire population of Nicaragua benefits. The capitalists don't end up with all this money."

### Relations with Washington

Shifting to the question of relations with Washington, Ortega said, "We have defeated the policy of the United States, although the United States still has not decided to seek a new type of relations with Nicaragua. We must keep in mind that winds of peace are really blowing on a world level."

"The agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States are very important for world peace," he continued, "but the United States still has not decided to respect the rights of the peoples of the Third World."

In the Central American context, the president said, "the United States should be a stabilizing factor. We have been willing to work for stability in the Central American region. We are willing to work with the United States along these lines, but it is impossible for us to avoid being a destabilizing factor."

The example of the Nicaraguan revolution is "a factor of destabilization against injustice, against oppression, against the lack of freedom, against the lack of democracy, against the violation of human rights," Ortega stated.

"If the United States does not want guerrilla struggles, if it doesn't want people to rise up in arms, then it must truly work for democracy, for justice, for respect for human rights."

In Nicaragua, Ortega added, "we can speak of authentic and complete democracy. Here we can really speak of an authentic and complete multiparty system. Here we can speak



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Hundreds of thousands gathered in Managua on July 19

of authentic and total freedom of expression and assembly for all the political, social, and economic forces of our nation."

The February 1990 elections, the president said, repeating a theme FSLN leaders have stressed in recent speeches, are going to be a contest "between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between the imperialists and Nicaragua."

Ortega ended his speech by conducting a poll of the assembled throng. This was in reply to a recent survey conducted by the opposition daily *La Prensa* that claimed to show that the people of Nicaragua oppose the FSLN.

"If the elections were held today, would the FSLN lose?" he asked.

"No," the crowd roared.

"If there are elections in February, will the FSLN win?"

"Yes."

At the closing session of the conference of solidarity committees, the several hundred activists present from 40 countries voted to focus their efforts in the coming period on providing material and political support to the Nicaraguan election campaign and to get out information throughout the world to counter the efforts of the Bush administration to discredit the upcoming contest here.

## — 10 AND 25 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE 25¢

Aug. 3, 1979

Big gains have been registered by the Nicaraguan workers and peasants in the brief period since former dictator Anastasio Somoza fled to Miami.

As liberation fighters of the victorious Sandinista National Liberation Front marched into Managua July 19, they released hundreds of political prisoners, while disarming and arresting units of Somoza's hated National Guard.

The first actions of the new government were to authorize legal action seeking Somoza's extradition, to wipe his name from public buildings, and to expropriate all property of Somoza and those who fled the country with him.

By nationalizing Somoza's economic empire, the new regime took over a huge chunk of the Nicaraguan economy, including 30 percent of the tillable land.

Somoza's holdings also included shipping and air lines, a fishing fleet, concrete, cement, tobacco, and textile enterprises, a port, a newspaper, and radio and television stations.

Speaking before a crowd of tens of thousands in front of the National Palace in Managua July 20, long-time Sandinista leader Tomás Borge, who has been appointed min-

ister of the interior in the new government, said:

"The war against the National Guard was difficult and bloody. Now a new war starts, a war against backwardness, against poverty, against ignorance, against immorality, against destruction."

Borge vowed that "the Government of National Reconstruction will make every effort to rebuild the country. But solutions won't appear tomorrow. . . . Solutions will require sacrifice, work, and sweat."

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

July 27, 1964

Malcolm X, in Cairo, Egypt, for the meeting of the Organization of African Unity, said July 20 that the fighting in Harlem was caused by "outright scare tactics used by New York police."

"This won't work," he said, "because the Negro is not afraid. If the police tactics are not changed, this could escalate into something very, very serious."

Malcolm went to the OAU meeting to ask the assembled heads of state of 34 independent African nations to bring the denial of human rights to Afro-Americans before the United Nations.

## Al Shiminsky: veteran socialist and working-class activist dies

BY HARRY RING

Al Shiminsky, a longtime working-class fighter for socialism, died in Newark, New Jersey, June 30 after a protracted illness. He was 72.

He was a steelworker and a member of the United Steelworkers of America his entire working life.

A skilled brick mason, he worked first in the foundry at the Youngstown Sheet & Tube plant in Youngstown, Ohio, and then in the foundry at the Worthington Pump company in Harrison, New Jersey.

Al became a socialist while in high school in Youngstown and joined the Socialist Workers Party there in the late 1930s. He was drafted into the army in World War II and went to work at Youngstown Sheet & Tube after his discharge.

In 1950 he moved to Newark and became active in the SWP there.

He worked at Worthington Pump for some 25 years. In the last years, he developed an arthritic back and other job-related health problems and barely made it to retirement.

Throughout, he was a loyal, conscientious party member. A very shy person, he rarely

spoke, but he could always be relied on to carry through anything he undertook.

During the witch-hunt of the 1950s, the Newark SWP steadily lost members. Al was one of the handful that remained steadfast.

By the early 1960s, the branch had become so small that it was dissolved and those remaining became members-at-large.

Al was branch treasurer at the time and, for an entire period afterward, he continued to regularly collect the dues and contributions of the at-large members.

For more than a decade, beginning in the late 1940s, members and friends of the SWP operated a vacation camp in the New Jersey foothills of the Poconos. This involved extensive construction, and Al played an important role in this. Regularly on weekends, and for at least one vacation, he drove out to the camp and worked long hours, laying brick and doing other work as well.

In 1971 his companion Ruth, also a veteran socialist, died. Already in poor health, Al then had lone responsibility for raising three pre-teen children. He could no longer maintain political activity, but he never retreated from his deeply held socialist convictions.



## Gorbachev and miners' strike

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is utilizing the recent nationwide coal strikes to further strengthen his position in the ruling Communist Party bureaucracy, and his claim to act as the ultimate arbiter of the deepening conflicts in Soviet society.

Gorbachev granted some concessions to the miners in an attempt to avoid confrontation. He also took advantage of the opportunity to call for local elections and urge replacement of local party and trade union officials whom he blames for the policies that provoked the strikes.

According to Gorbachev, ousting "unresponsive" party authorities, along with a drastic restructuring of the trade union organizations, are needed to advance the economic restructuring program called *perestroika*.

While blaming the Coal Ministry and local officials, Gorbachev also warned miners that "deciding such matters by striking will ruin our work." He appealed to the miners to return to work and discouraged workers in other industries from taking the same course. He advised trade union authorities to "think over what happened and what to do to make sure the unions carry out their role."

Concessions to miners centered around shipments of scarce food and material goods like leather shoes, refrigerators, and fresh meat. Wage increases of \$50 a month were granted for night-shift workers and a \$20 increase in the monthly hardship bonus. Siberian miners received \$100 added to their monthly base pay of \$320.

Gorbachev invited workers to voice their complaints in a round of meetings to be held locally.

Miners' demands for independence of their mines, decision-making power over investment, and increased political rights were addressed in vague terms as part of the concessions.

Living standards of the miners are similar to those of many other Soviet workers. Grocery store shelves are next to empty, milk is guaranteed only to children under one year, and soap is rationed to one bar per person every two months. Housing is poor, apartments are overcrowded, and the waiting period for them often exceeds 10 years.

These are the conditions that spurred the strikes by coal miners who hope Gorbachev's *perestroika* program will improve their conditions.

His proposals for getting the Soviet economy out of stagnation revolve around decentralizing planning and increasing reliance on market forces rather than the former emphasis on planning under the command of the bureaucratic apparatus.

Part of this shift involves Gorbachev's continuing consolidation of a government in harmony with his program and his strengthened position in the party leadership. The proposed local elections seek to continue this process, while channeling opposition to the status quo among workers and farmers into an electoral process.

Gorbachev's solution of using capitalist market methods to organize and motivate the Soviet labor force, however, come at a time of increasing economic crisis in the capitalist world. This includes countries like the United States where, even in the midst of an economic upturn, a growing number of working people face homelessness, unemployment, and an overall decline in living conditions.

In the Soviet Union *perestroika* has so far done nothing to improve the deteriorating standard of living of Soviet workers and farmers, nor will it do so.

The biggest drain on the wealth working people produce is the privileged government and Communist Party bureaucracy, which Gorbachev is part of and has no intention of dismantling. This bureaucratic machine stifles cooperation and creativity among the workers and farmers.

What Gorbachev's promises have done is raise the expectations of working people that the government will act to solve the problems they face. This has given workers more confidence to press for their demands. Winning some modest concessions is likely to boost expectations, adding to the contradictions Gorbachev will face.

As the inability of *perestroika* to solve their problems becomes more apparent, disillusionment and opposition on the part of Soviet workers will grow.

## Apartheid's thugs in Namibia

Opponents of apartheid and colonialism everywhere need to step up support for the demand that the South African rulers completely disband their terrorist units in Namibia and halt their efforts to preserve colonial rule there.

Thousands of the apartheid regime's Koevoet counterinsurgency forces — now wearing new hats as "Namibian" police — are stepping up terror against the people of Namibia.

Their aim is to suppress support for the South West Africa Peoples Organisation, which has led the fight for Namibian independence, before elections currently scheduled for November 1.

The elections are part of an agreement signed in December by the South African, U.S., Angolan, and Cuban governments. The agreement called for an end to the South African government's war against Angola and set a plan for independence for Namibia, which is occupied and ruled as a colony by South Africa.

The agreement was reached in the wake of the big defeat that the South African forces were dealt in March 1988 by Angolan, Cuban, and SWAPO forces at Cuito Cuanavale, Angola.

The implementation of the accord is formally being overseen by a United Nations force.

Far from releasing its grip on Namibia, however, the South African regime is continuing the war against Namibian

independence and SWAPO — the longest war on the African continent, which has cost at least 11,000 lives and created 100,000 refugees in a country of 1.7 million people.

Martti Ahtisaari, the special UN representative in Namibia, reported that Koevoet units carry out patrols in armored personnel carriers mounted with machine guns. They "drive through villages and farms, destroying crops and kraals and terrorizing the local inhabitants."

Ahtisaari said the Koevoet operation "raises grave doubt in my mind as to whether conditions are established which will allow free and fair elections."

UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar has called for the removal of Koevoet members from the police. The apartheid regime has refused to do so.

The South African government's actions have been so blatant that even the U.S. government, which has helped the South African regime maintain its rule in Namibia, backed the charges. The Koevoet units "go into villages and say, in effect, 'Anybody who votes for SWAPO will be in real trouble,'" said Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

More than ever, the Namibian people need the support of workers and other democratic-minded people all over the world. Disband the Koevoet thugs! South Africa out of Namibia!

## Broad opposition to book ban

The legislation banning 86 titles of political literature from entering Grenada enacted by the proimperialist Herbert Blaize government in April has been condemned in many countries around the world for what it is: a blatant attack on the democratic rights of the Grenadian people.

Letters, telegrams, and statements deploring the ban on many books distributed by Pathfinder have poured into Blaize's office in recent weeks from congresspersons in the United States, parliamentarians in Britain, Canada, and Australia, from lawyers' associations, trade unions, writers' groups, academics, and from scores of concerned individuals.

In a national radio broadcast on June 10, Blaize acknowledged that his office had been deluged by the protests and that the book ban had become an international issue. Yet he vowed to continue stonewalling in the face of these condemnations, arguing that the ban was justified to keep out literature that "threatened Grenada's public interest and national security."

Influential elements of the Caribbean mass media have editorialized against the book ban. Organizations of Caribbean journalists, regional human rights associations, the

Caribbean Conference of Churches, the Caribbean Studies Association, and the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America have spoken out against the censorship in Grenada.

Opposition inside the country is on the rise. A lawsuit filed on behalf of Terry Marryshow, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, who had ordered the books from Pathfinder of New York, charges that the government's action violates Grenada's 1973 constitution.

Anslem De Bourg, president of Grenada's Trade Union Council, has condemned the censorship as a "barbaric act" and has reiterated the right of the Grenadian workers and farmers to choose and read political literature.

The censorship has been a contentious issue even within Blaize's cabinet and has contributed to a sharpening of the contradictions inside the ruling New National Party (NNP). Keith Mitchell, head of the NNP, has stated publicly that he does not support the banning of books.

The international protest campaign must continue until the Blaize regime is forced by the sheer weight of outraged public opinion both inside and outside Grenada to repeal the book-ban law.

## How the 2nd International began

BY DOUG JENNESS

On July 14, 1889 — the 100th anniversary of the opening of the French revolution — Paris was swarming with visitors from many countries who had come to see the Centennial Exhibition. The latest developments in science and technology were on display; the crowning piece was the Eiffel Tower, at that time the world's highest human-made structure.

As on the 200th celebration, the storming of the Bastille and the achievements of the French revolution were far from most people's minds. Yet, in a hall in one corner of the city nearly 400 representatives of socialist organizations from 20 countries were discussing the revolutionary perspectives of the working class.

This meeting marked the beginning of a new stage in the international collaboration and organization of the Marxist vanguard of the working class. From 1864 to the mid-1870s

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

Marxists had helped build the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), and had greatly increased their political influence. That organization collapsed, however, partly as the result of repression following the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871 and partly because of disruption by anarchists.

But the Marxist current had emerged stronger than it had been in 1864 and parties led by revolutionary socialists were established and grew in a number of countries. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific communism and its clearest defenders, argued, however, against prematurely attempting to reestablish an international organization.

Engels, for example, wrote in 1882, "the International actually continues to exist. There is a connection between the revolutionary workers in all countries, as far as that is feasible. Every socialist journal is an international centre; from Geneva, Zurich, London, Paris, Brussels, and Milan threads run in all directions and cross and recross one another so that I really do not know what new strength the grouping of these small centres around one great principal centre could contribute at present to the movement. It would very likely only increase the friction. But when the time for the rallying of forces arrives, it will therefore be a matter of but a moment and require no lengthy preparation."

By 1889 the possibilities and need for more international organization were growing, and Engels played a decisive role in pulling together the International Socialist Congress of Working Men in Paris. This was no easy task. There were a great many rivalries, jealousies, and uneven political levels among the leaders of the socialist parties.

But the principal challenge was developing an effective response to the initiatives of the Workers' Social-Revolutionary Party in France (more commonly known as the Possibilists because they proposed limiting workers' struggles to what was "possible.")

This reformist formation, which Engels explained sold "principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions," got the jump on the revolutionary socialists in calling an international congress.

The Possibilists set it for July 14 in Paris and began signing up socialist and labor organizations to support their call. Their goal Engels warned "was to constitute the nucleus of a new International" dominated by reformists.

Engels had to combat the tendency of some of his German supporters to hold a unified congress with the reformists. He also had to convince his French colleagues to recognize the seriousness of the threat posed by the Possibilists and urge them to help organize a separate international congress in Paris.

Engels, nearing 70, set aside other important responsibilities and "put my shoulders to the wheel." His efforts were successful, and the Marxists were a substantial majority at the congress. With the exception of the reformist Social-Democratic Federation of Britain, the Possibilists did not win a single socialist organization in Europe to their side. Their congress drew mostly representatives of nonsocialist trade unions.

The "best of what our congress achieved," Engels wrote, was to call for support to simultaneous demonstrations in many countries on May 1, 1890, in favor of the eight-hour day.

Neither the Paris congress nor the following international socialist congresses in the 1890s set up an organizational structure. But, in reality, the 1889 gathering marked the birth of a new international organization, which later came to be known as the Second International. "The revived international organisation of the labour movement — in the shape of periodical international congresses," Lenin wrote in 1908, "from the outset, and almost without a struggle, adopted the Marxist standpoint in all essentials."



# Denial of literature sparks discussion in prison

The article below was written prior to the July 11 decision by prison authorities granting Mark Curtis permission to receive the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and the French-language *Lutte ouvrière*.

BY MARK CURTIS

ANAMOSA, Iowa — Since June hundreds of letters and telegrams have been received by Warden John Thalacker asking him to reverse the exclusion of books and magazines in Spanish, French, Swedish, and other languages.

This pressure persuaded prison officials to release to me a Spanish-English dictionary and a Spanish verb book,

## BEHIND PRISON WALLS

although three magazines are still being withheld.

The fight started in February when prison officials began excluding the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* and the French-language *Lutte ouvrière*, magazines that I had ordered to read, improve my Spanish, and introduce to other inmates. The reason given for the denial was that the magazines were in a foreign language and so threatened the security and good order of the institution.

After the protest messages had begun to pile up on his desk, Warden Thalacker attempted to justify the exclusion. In a public letter he compared written Spanish to "encoded messages" that "could not be understood by the average Iowan."

The denial of literature and the campaign to let it in sparked an important discussion inside the walls about our democratic rights and how to defend them.

When I received copies of the letters and telegrams sent to the warden, I arranged to meet other inmates in the library to show them around. There we talked about what could be done. Reading through the hundreds of messages sent by unions, farmers, civil rights groups, government officials, and others surprised and impressed everyone.

"You mean the warden has seen all these already?" was one response.

Everyone seemed to enjoy reading two letters in particular, one from an official of the United Auto Workers who

wrote, "The Bird Man of Alcatraz received more freedom than Mark Curtis is receiving at his prison."

The other one was from author Piri Thomas, who spent seven years in prison. He wrote, "I remember once in 1954 or so I asked for permission to have a copy of the Holy Quran (It's to Muslims what the Bible is to Christians) and was told in no uncertain terms that no *commie* books were allowed."

It is a powerful thing to see so many people stand up for men whose rights are generally ignored in this country. Some even laughed out loud thinking of all the mail and phone calls the administration had to field trying to explain their wrong-headed actions.

Many inmates asked why so many people — from all over the world — would care about this issue. This gave me another opportunity to explain the facts about my arrest and frame-up on rape and burglary charges and the campaign to win justice for me.

The most important discussions were always about what strategy we should have to win our rights — whether we happen to be locked up or on the streets. The example of metal workers in Sweden, farmers in Mt. Vernon, Iowa, sugar workers in the Philippines, and many others from around the globe raising their voices together for a meat-packer in Anamosa, Iowa, should be followed for all those hit with injustice.

One man pointed out the similarities of censorship by the prison and by the U.S. government. "When they want to stop something from coming in they holler about security. It's just like the government's trying to stop the public from finding out what they're up to in the Iran-contra deal. They holler 'national security' and we can't let it out," he said.

I asked for help from members of the 17-man Resident Council to fight the censorship. The Resident Council members are elected at the workplace and they meet with the prison staff to discuss getting better conditions for the inmates. At the first meeting they concluded that even though it was wrong for the administration to stop non-English literature, they couldn't do anything about it. They were under the impression that I had filed a lawsuit against the prison. Afterward, I spoke to many of the delegates and cleared up this misunderstanding — I had not filed suit, and fighting censorship was not just my "personal problem" but an issue for every inmate here.

They had a much better discussion at their second meeting. Some men said they couldn't see how the prison could prevent Spanish literature from coming in when some can be found in the library. Another man said he knew someone who had a motorcycle magazine in German.

I had to set the record straight with several inmates who were confused by an inaccurate report of the situation by a Cedar Rapids television station. According to those who saw it, the reporter said that I had been trying to receive pornographic magazines, but was prevented by prison regulations against sexual offenders getting such material.

While I do not approve of the exploitation of women in pornography, the rules against it have become a smoke screen to falsely justify tighter controls over what we can receive here.

A list of "controlled" — that is, banned — publications is kept on file in the mailroom. While the majority of it is pornography, political literature is on the list too. *Burning Spear*, *Overthrow* (an anarchist publication); material from the Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition, and literature from the War Resisters League and about civil rights activist Morris S. Dees are on it.

Many prisoners resent the government and media drive to play on the pornography issue. "I don't like my wife and family constantly being exposed to the propaganda that we're all in here lusting after the stuff in pornographic magazines. They're making the public think of us in the worst way so they can get away with doing whatever they want to with us," said another inmate.

When I finally did receive the two Spanish books, many prisoners found out about it from me or from an article in the *Des Moines Register*.

One of the many congratulations I received was from an inmate who was very pessimistic about overturning any decision by the prison administration. He had refused to even look through the telegrams to the warden. As someone who holds many right-wing opinions, he and I disagree a lot, but we both share an interest in learning other languages. When I got the books, his handshake and comment, "That's great!" were the most enthusiastic I got.

Mark Curtis is serving a 25-year sentence in the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa on trumped-up rape and burglary charges.

## LETTERS

### Big Mountain Diné

A day after the July 4 Independence Day celebrated by the U.S. government, 50 people rallied in downtown Phoenix at the Federal Building to fight for the continued independence of the Diné (Navajo) Nation.

We presented a petition to the U.S. Justice Department demanding a moratorium on all aspects of the forced relocation of Dinés from their land by the U.S. government. It also called for an investigation into the resulting genocide against the Diné people.

In 1974 Congress passed a law, using the pretext of a contrived dispute between the Diné and Hopi living in the Big Mountain-Joint Use Area. In 1977 a federal district court partitioned the area, declaring one side Hopi, the other Navajo.

Two years later a deadline of July 7, 1986, was decreed for removal of more than 10,000 people from their ancestral homeland. This forced relocation is contrary to all U.S. government treaties with Native Americans. Its purpose is to free the land for the profit-making of U.S. corporations that exploit the gas, coal, and oil in the region.

Several hundred Diné remain there but are subjected to daily harassment. This includes prohibiting repairs to homes and corrals, livestock confiscation, fencing of rangelands, and diversion of water. Helicopters, military jets flying low, and bulldozers destroying the land are common occurrences. Many of the areas to which Diné have been relocated are contaminated by uranium — in both the water and ground.

The Big Mountain Diné have asked for an ongoing presence of supporters at Big Mountain. To go there or form a support group in your area, contact: Big Mountain Support Group, 2150 47th Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94116; telephone (415) 665-1743; or Weaving Project, P.O. Box 865, Kykotsmobi, Ariz. 86039. Marta DeLeon  
Phoenix, Arizona

### 'Militant' in Brazil

I work at the offices of the journal *Em Tempo* in Rio de Janeiro and get copies of your excellent periodical in the mail.

But I'm frustrated in my efforts to read it because my working-class origins prevented me from learning any languages other than Portuguese. I'm able to read publications in Spanish because of its similarity to Portuguese.

So I'm writing to ask whether the *Militant* appears in Spanish and how I can go about getting it.

It's through *Perspectiva Mundial* that I found out about the frame-up of Mark Curtis, and I want to take this opportunity to express my solidarity with the comrade and to wish you success in this fight.

I'd also like to get more up-to-date news about the strike at Eastern Airlines, as well as the feminist movement and the other questions of importance to the international working-class movement that you take up in your paper.

The bourgeoisie can exploit us and rob us of our labor and material wealth. But they will never be able to steal the theoretical and practical knowledge that gives us the courage to confront capitalism in the struggle for a socialist world where there will be no more exploiters or exploited. C.L.G.  
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

### 'Treat us like animals'

"They say working in the cooler is just as dangerous as working in a coal mine," said a strike picket at Linden Packing Co. in Newark, New Jersey, recently. The striker next to him — who didn't look that old — chimed in, "I've got a plastic hipbone from working in the cooler. The bone just crumbles."

Local 174 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union at Linden Packing has been on strike since late June. Linden is a kosher slaughterhouse.

The first striker explained, "They



Wright

don't tell you you have to come out [of the cooler] after a certain time. They don't care if you stay in there all day. They treat us like animals. At least animals have the Humane Society."

The two strikers were on picket duty at 6:30 a.m. one recent morning as the sun rose over Newark. A 24-hour picket line is maintained, which none of the 150 members of the local have crossed.

Production has stopped, and the plant is shut down. One picket explained the issues in the strike: "We haven't gotten a raise in eight years. We gave back 50 cents three years ago, plus cost-of-living, and a couple of holidays. The boss said he was losing money."

Robert Dees  
Newark, New Jersey

### Cuba

The *Militant* has correctly recognized the Mark Curtis trial to be a sham and a political frame-up.

Yet you fail to be as skeptical of the political frame-up on "drug

charges" of the four Cuban officers.

I suggest you examine everything that comes out of Cuba very carefully.

Robert Palmer  
Buffalo, New York

### Audience

I am a proletarian white American who receives your newspaper, which in many cases I enjoy considerably. I feel that in many ways you are addressing prominent issues that all working and poor people face. However, I also feel that you should consider addressing a larger audience of people than you do.

Most poor oppressed people in America are not Black or immigrant. Most poor people are white. Many of us live in the ghettos among Blacks, who are becoming more and more violent toward us, not realizing that we are just as poor and are suffering in the same way.

The violence of the Black and minority gangs in this neighborhood alone drives poor white people in a "conservative" direction, which only the plutocrats can benefit from.

We see immigrants as people who threaten our jobs and cannot relate to those people's plights.

Many of us have begun to look to Mikhail Gorbachev as a symbol of hope for a revival of socialist principles and world peace.

I believe if you could put more focus on what Gorbachev is doing on behalf of socialism and true democracy people could see the virtues more easily than they do presently.

Poverty and oppression are not necessarily racial or national issues. The real issue is that all poor people are in the same boat, exploited by the same plutocrats and their corporations worldwide.

P.K. Garner  
Indianapolis, Indiana

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Victims of Dutch rule fight brutality

### Protests in Bonaire, Curaçao

BY RONI McCANN

"Be it police brutality, be it discrimination or oppression, a defeat like this for the Dutch government makes it harder for them to hide the reality of our peoples' sufferings from the world."

Eugene Godfried, a leader of farmers' protests in Curaçao, was referring to the recent victory scored by the people of Bonaire against police brutality.

"In the history of these six islands that form the Dutch territory in the Caribbean, Dutch colonialism has only taught us to be divided," he continued in a telephone interview. "For the first time the people of Curaçao and Bonaire were united in a struggle for justice, peace, and social progress."

Bonaire is a Dutch-speaking island with a population of 10,000 that sits about 40 miles off the coast of Venezuela and is a colony of the Netherlands.

After a demonstration of close to 3,000 people in the capital, Kralendijk, government authorities were forced to sign an agreement promising to open a discussion on police brutality and set up a new structure charged with the task of investigating some 30 cases immediately.

All six islands in the Dutch territory are under the jurisdiction of the same police force,

and their brutal methods are widespread and well known.

The events began when Miphel Bykerk, a lawyer in Bonaire, got fed up with one and a half years of bringing complaints of police brutality to the attention of the local authorities and getting no response.

On July 2 he began a hunger strike protesting the inaction of the federal and local governments. He demanded that they investigate several cases of brutality involving youth, workers, and women.

To back his actions, the Committee for Justice, a broad-based coalition made up of several social organizations and trade unions, was formed on the island of Bonaire. Prime Minister Maria Liberia Peters of the colonial government refused to go to the island or talk with the committee.

The Committee for Justice then called for a public demonstration on July 14. The turnout of thousands is significant given that the island does not have a history of demonstrations and marches. More than 1,500 protesters signed a message calling for an impartial investigation into the brutality cases and sent it to the government demanding action.

One of the main speakers at the rally was Dr. Rudy Lampe. An Aruban-born Catholic priest, Lampe was a key figure in the 1987 fight for agrarian reform. He called on resi-



dents in all of the islands to back the people of Bonaire in this fight.

On July 17 Minister of Justice Ivo Knopel, who had been in the Netherlands during the events, returned and held a press conference denouncing Bykerk and calling his actions illegal. He presented the government's

proposal to reactivate a commission set up in 1985 for hearing police brutality cases.

This was not acceptable, however, because this commission never functioned. "How will it help to revive a dead body?" Godfried asked. Instead, the protesters wanted a new structure, possibly including observers from abroad.

On July 18 Lampe decided to call a solidarity mass in Curaçao. Held in the working-class community of Koraal Specht, nearly 400 people packed the church, which seated 200.

The people of this community, along with having their own cases of police brutality, have also been involved in other struggles. A few years ago when the government proposed to dump toxic waste in a landfill in the neighborhood, Lampe led a mobilization against it, and the government was forced to retreat.

The day after the solidarity mass, leaders of the Committee for Justice, including Roger Gysbertha of the government workers' trade union and Nochi Willems of the teachers' union, along with Lampe, attempted to meet with the minister of justice.

After three hours he finally saw them, and along with the chief of police, the lieutenant governor of Bonaire, and a representative of the Court of Justice, signed the agreement conceding to the protesters' demands on police brutality.

"This is a victory for all the islands," said Godfried.

## Steelworkers accept pact at National

BY PETER BRANDLI

GRANITE CITY, Ill. — United Steelworkers of America members ratified a 50-month contract with National Steel Corp. on July 14. The vote was 5,273 for and 778 against. The agreement is virtually the same as the one rejected by Steelworkers June 19 by a 61 to 39 percent margin.

The contract covers 7,300 workers at three NSC mills — in Ecorse, Michigan; Portage, Indiana; and here in Granite City, near St. Louis.

The pact restores the 31-cent-an-hour wage concession made in 1986 and brings Sunday premium pay back up to its 1986 level. Average wages are scheduled to increase \$1 an hour in 1991 and 50 cents an hour in 1992. Lump sum payments, which will start in 1991, are pegged to company profits. (The union gave up its cost-of-living wage adjustment in 1986.)

A 50-cent-an-hour guaranteed "profit-sharing" payment has been eliminated. The new profit-sharing plan starts paying 10 cents an hour after company profits hit \$7 million.

The contract also continues the Cooperative Partnership program begun in 1986. Under this scheme, the union is supposed to work with National Steel to find ways to boost productivity. It has already resulted in job combinations and losses, and increased overtime. The Employment Security Plan, under which no permanent employee can be laid off except in a disaster, has been modified. It will begin after one year of employment for workers hired after June 1, 1989.

The company will now be able to schedule production on Labor Day, Christmas Eve, and Christmas Day, and hundreds of workers will be forced to work weekends for the first time at the Granite City mill. Maintenance workers here will face job combinations and can be forced to work outside their department.

When the first vote was taken, in June, most NSC workers viewed the contract proposal as an attack on working conditions, and the wage increases as insufficient to make up for years of previous concessions.

The dramatic shift in the vote can be largely attributed to a campaign launched by the company, media, and steel union officials to portray the rejection as a strike vote.

Immediately after the first proposal was voted down, headlines blared "Steelworkers prepare for strike" and "Steelworkers threaten Granite City." NSC chief negotiator Richard Coffee announced cancellation of \$165 million in orders and plans to cut production. The company could not afford a better contract without going out of business, he said.

Steel union District 34 president and chief negotiator Buddy Davis told the press he thought the proposal was the best the company could offer and that Steelworkers would therefore have to prepare to go out on strike.

Most workers here were stunned and outraged by this response. Their no vote had been a vote for union negotiators to go back to the bargaining table to come up with a better proposal before the old contract expired July 31 — not a strike vote.

Some workers now feared union officials might force them out on strike without

needed preparation. A petition to the officials asking for a revote was circulated.

On June 30 the company and union announced that a new tentative agreement had been reached and would be put to a membership vote.

Another rejection would mean a strike on August 1, union officials said. A letter from the negotiating committee mailed out with the ballots said that a no vote would constitute strike authorization.

While most workers viewed the second proposal as another concession contract, they were convinced that a no vote would now be a vote to strike.

Some workers argued that no one ever gains in a strike, that the company would go out of business, and that to save jobs, the agreement had to be accepted. Other workers pointed to the absence of leadership among union officials and lack of unity in the union's

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## French union congress features miners' fights

TARBES, France — News of successful struggles waged by miners here and their victories opened the 64th Congress of the General Confederation of Labor.

More than 200 delegates and guests gathered at the Château d'Arc in Tarbes to attend the CGT congress held in late June.

The château, a gift from miners in Britain, houses a vocational school, funded by the CGT, for children with special educational needs.

At a commemoration program celebrating the 50th anniversary of the château, Arthur Scargill, president of the British National Union of Mineworkers, explained that relations between the CGT and the NUM were "forever cemented" during the 1984-85 British miners' strike. The union federation contributed aid during the strike.

Discussion took place on the victory in the fight to ban imports of South African coal to France, a 24-hour strike by miners in Gardanne, and reinstatement of fired union militants. These fights have boosted membership in the miners' division of the CGT.

A highpoint of the June 26-30 congress was the international session featuring presentations by union leaders from 22 countries and organizations.

Marcel Golding, deputy secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa, was warmly greeted as he described the recent developments in southern Africa. Golding said the battle at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola dealt a major blow and further isolated the apartheid regime. The state of emergency, however, and repression against trade unions and their leaders continues to underscore the need for solidarity.

Henri Gakama, secretary general of the miners' union of the Peoples Republic of the Congo, explained, "The crisis in capitalist countries has become increasingly unbearable for the developing nations," which are being strangled by the external debt.

For the first time representatives from New Caledonia (Kanaky) and Australia were present. Kanak union leader Lucien Nomai said that France established its colonial power based on the exploitation of the natural re-

sources of the Kanaky. The Kanak people are fighting to gain control of the wealth of their country.

Nicaraguan miners' leader Rafael Cieres requested that the CGT "make a clear statement against the aggression... and economic blockade" organized by the U.S. government against Nicaragua.

Mary Zins, a member of United Mine Workers of America Local 2295, said the miners on strike against Pittston Coal Group in the United States were joining 17,000 striking airline workers fighting for their union at Eastern. She requested international support for the UMW Pittston strike. Zins was the first woman coal miner to attend a CGT congress.

Union leaders were present from Algeria, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Kenya, Hungary, Libya, Morocco, Poland, and the Soviet Union. Representatives from the African National Congress of South Africa and the Federation of African Miners also attended.